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MEMORIALS OF OLD LANCASHIRE

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

LANCASHIRE occupies a very prominent place among the counties of England. The baronial family designated by the title of the House of Lancaster has imparted dignity to the County Palatine, which owns at the present day as its Ducal head His Majesty King Edward VII. In spite of modern developments, the vast increase of manufactures, and the destruction of much that is ancient, Lancashire is peculiarly full of historic and antiquarian interest, providing abundant material for these volumes. Indeed, so abundant are the historical records of the county, and so rich are its antiquarian remains, that the Editors have been obliged to omit some sections which they would like to have included, though they have striven to present a comprehensive view of the town and country life of Lancashire, especially in its most significant periods, and to leave out as little as possible of importance or that is unfamiliar to the inhabitants of the shire.

Lancashire has had many historians from the time of Edward Baines to the present time, and few counties possess more learned and industrious archæological societies than the Chetham Society, the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, and other associations, which have for their object the study of the history of the district. The Editors desire to express their thanks to many members of these societies who have contributed valuable chapters to these volumes on subjects which they have made their own.

As a native of the county, it has been a great pleasure to me to co-operate in the editing of these volumes, and I desire to express my grateful thanks to my colleague, Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick, upon whom the bulk of the editorial work has fallen. His numerous books entitle him to rank as the chief authority on all that pertains to Lancashire lore and history, and his residence in the county and his personal acquaintance with the principal Lancashire authors have been invaluable in securing their help and co-operation. Without his assistance and persevering work these volumes could not have been produced.

All the chapters in these volumes have been specially written and illustrated for the work, and our most grateful thanks are due to each of the contributors for

their valuable papers, as well as to those who have supplied photographs or who have loaned prints or drawings. It would be invidious to particularize when there has been such ready kindness, but we desire especially to thank the officers of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire and of the Antiquarian Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, and also Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., and Mr. C. W. Sutton, for the loan of blocks and for the assistance which they have readily rendered.

P. H. DITCHFIELD.

Barkham Rectory.

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HISTORIC LANCASHIRE

By Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A.

IN some very remote period the whole of the district now known as Lancashire was lying below the level of the sea, upon which were floating large icebergs, which drifted from the north towards the south, depositing in the course of their journey huge blocks of stone or boulders. After this ice period disappeared and the hills became visible, there were still left glaciers of enormous size, which filled the valleys and only melted away during the lapse of centuries. It would not be suitable in a volume like this to treat of the early races of men of the Palæolithic and Neolithic periods; it will be sufficient to state that the number of implements of flint and stone which from time to time have been unearthed (especially in East Lancashire) prove beyond a doubt that on the hill-tops there did live for some time men belonging to these eras.

By some authorities it is accepted that the Palæolithic men lived prior to the appearance of the glaciers. At a later period people of a Celtic extraction were to a small extent inhabitants of the district, and have left behind them not only Celtic names, but remains in almost every parish have been discovered which can only be classified as belonging to Celtic or British settlements, some of which were utilized by the Romans when they invaded the country.

At Walton-le-Dale the Romans had a station, which is believed to have been formed on the site of a British settlement, as there were found there cinerary urns, arrow heads, and other indications of its earlier occupation.

The history of Lancashire under the Romans will form the subject of a separate article (see "Roman Lancashire").

The Romans may be said to have left the country in A.D. 410, and, as far as Lancashire was concerned, this led to disastrous results, as the inhabitants were not strong enough nor sufficiently organized to repel the attacks of the Picts and Scots. In A.D. 449 the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles, who then called themselves Englishmen, won the battle of Aylesford, in Kent, their common enemy being the Britons. Without attempting to follow the subsequent details of the struggle, it will serve our purpose to state that some one hundred and fifty years elapsed before the northern part of the country was subdued and came mostly into the possession of the Angles. That this part of the country was at this time subdivided into small kingdoms is undoubted, but the exact place in this arrangement which Lancashire occupied is not clear; probably it was part of the kingdom of Deira, which had York for its capital. Mr. Freeman includes it in the kingdom of Strathclyde, which stretched out from Galloway in the south-west of Scotland to the river Dee. Before the dawn of the seventh century Lancashire was a part of the kingdom of Northumbria, which was ruled by the Angles. In A.D. 627, Edwin, the King of Northumbria, through the influence of his wife, Æthelburga, daughter of Æthelbert, King of Kent, became a convert to Christianity, and erected an oratory in the city of York. The result of this adoption of Christianity led to a war with the King of Mercia, and at the battle fought at Hadfield in 633 the King of Northumbria was slain. Several battles were now fought by the Kings of Northumbria, the subject in dispute being the Christian religion; but in A.D. 685, Egfrid, in endeavouring to suppress the Picts, was slain at the great battle of Nectansmere, in Yorkshire, and with him fell the supremacy of the kingdom of Northumbria. Green, in

his *History of the English People*, says that Northumbria was "the literary centre of the Christian world in Western Europe. The whole learning of the age seemed to be summed up in a Northumbrian scholar, Bæda—'the Venerable Bede' later times styled him"; and the same writer adds: "From the death of Bæda the history of Northumbria is, in fact, only a wild story of lawlessness and bloodshed. King after king was swept away by treason and revolt; the country fell into the hands of its turbulent nobles; the very fields lay waste, and the land was swept by famine and plague." In A.D. 827 the whole of the country, from the British Channel to the Forth, was one united kingdom; but in A.D. 878 the Danish invaders became for a short time the recognised owners of Northumbria; finally, in the year 954, they were suppressed, and the districts placed under the government of an earl. In Lancashire we find, in the names of places, many traces of the settlements of Danes and Saxons—to these people may be attributed all the "tons," "hams," "bys," "rods," "holts," and "shaws" so commonly found as terminatives.

The available and reliable information about this portion of the history of Lancashire is very slight. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mentions that, in 937, Manchester, in Northumbria, was almost reduced to ruins by a force of Mercians under King Edward, who afterwards repaired and manned the town. Near the close of the tenth century the part of Lancashire lying between the Ribble and the Mersey was annexed to Mercia, and placed ecclesiastically within the diocese of Lichfield; the parts of Lancashire north of the Ribble being in the archdeanery of Richmond, and under the bishopric of York; and King David of Scotland claimed all Lancashire on the north side of the Ribble.

During Saxon times the county was divided into six hundreds, viz., Lonsdale (north and south of the sands), Amounderness, Leyland, Blackburn, Salford, and West

Derby, all of which were treated as manors, having their manor-houses at West Derby, Warrington, Newton, Salford, Blackburn, and Leyland. The *Domesday Survey* mentions several classes of free tenants in some of these manors, viz., thanes, drenghs (these are found in Newton and Warrington), and radmanni and burgesses, all of whom had to pay suit and service to the King. The non-freemen there were bordars (small holders), neatherds, serfs, and villeins. The several hundreds

SPEED'S MAP OF LANCASHIRE, 1623 (REDUCED).

were again subdivided into smaller manors, of which in West Derby alone there were sixty-five. To the Saxons we may credit the building of several Lancashire churches, which, being in many cases endowed, ultimately became bases of parishes, which were often identical with the manorial estates of the founders.

There is strong presumptive evidence that pre-Norman churches were erected in the following parishes (and, no doubt, others), viz., Kirkby Ireleth, near Cartmel, Lancaster, Tatham, Tunstall, Heysham (of which remains

are still visible), Halton, Preston, Kirkham, St. Michael's-on-Wyre, Poulton-le-Fylde, Garstang, Lytham, St. Mary's at Whalley (where there are three Saxon crosses), St. Mary's at Blackburn, Croston, Eccleston, Walton-on-the-Hill, Wigan, Winwick (here is the fragment of a Saxon cross), Warrington, Manchester, and Rochdale.

William the Conqueror found at least one castle in the county—at Penwortham (see "Castles and Fortified Houses")—and there were at least a dozen churches. Lancashire is not named in Domesday, parts of it appearing in Yorkshire, Westmorland, Cumberland, and Cheshire.

Very soon after the Conquest Norman feudalism was introduced, and one of its effects was that all the land in the county (which did not form part of the endowments of churches) was handed over to tenants or great vassals, who held it direct from the King, to whom in all cases they rendered military and other service.

One of the most powerful of these tenants was Roger de Poictou, who had thus conveyed to him all the land between the Mersey and the Ribble, which he finally lost on his banishment for high treason in 2 Henry I. (1101-2).

During this century the six hundreds of the county were at various times held by the following: Henry, Duke of Normandy (West Derby), Ilbert de Lacy (Blackburn), the Earl of Chester (Salford), Theobald Walter (Amounderness), King John (Leyland), the Monks of Furness (a great part of Lonsdale). The honour of Lancaster was held by Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster. Many parts of the county were, however, retained by the King.

It is about this time that we find evidence that the county was becoming more populated, and in various parts of it sundry small boroughs were arising, some

of which afterwards rose to be amongst the largest towns and cities in England. Lancaster in 1199 was created a borough; a little later Preston had its free gild merchant, and held a fair each year of eight days' duration; Clitheroe in 1205 had the right to hold a fair; Liverpool in 1207 became a chartered borough; and a few years later Salford was made a free borough. Edmund de Lacy, in 25 Henry III. (A.D. 1240-41), obtained a royal charter for a market and fair at Rochdale, and shortly afterwards Wigan became a free borough, with right to hold a guild. The barony of Manchester did not get its grant as a free borough until 1301; but before the end of the thirteenth century, Ormskirk, Bolton-le-Moors, Burnley, Kirkham, and other towns had each its authorized fair and market. All this points clearly to a period of prosperity, during which the inhabitants found it to their advantage to dwell together in the villages, which rapidly developed into small towns.

Many churches were now built in the populous districts, monasteries and religious houses having been previously founded, as, for example, St. Mary of Lancaster in 1094, Furness Abbey in 1123 (see "Furness Abbey"), Cockersand Abbey in 1190, Penwortham Priory in 1087, Whalley Abbey (originally at Stanlawe) in 1163, the Augustine Friary at Warrington in the thirteenth century, Burcough Priory in 1124, Upholland Priory in 1318, Kersall Cell in the twelfth century, and Lytham Priory (or Cell) in 1190.

There were in Saxon times several large forests in the county, which were made the subject of many laws at a very early date. Amongst these forests were Wyresdale, Quernmore, Pendle, Trawden, Accrington, and Rossendale. Before the Norman Conquest the four last-named forests were known as the Forest of Blackburnshire, and spread over an area of 76 square miles or 48,945 statute acres. Some portions of this

land are now covered with buildings, and the ancient *booths* have become towns, but many old names of places remind us of the former occupiers. Common enough occur such names as Boarsgreave, Hogshead, Wolstenholme, Sowclough, Swinshaw, and Wolfenden. King John, whilst Earl of Morton, granted a charter to the knights and freeholders, which conferred on them the right to take hares, foxes, rabbits, and all other wild animals, always excepting the stag, the hind, the roebuck, and wild hogs. Severe was the penalty upon one offending against the forest laws. The right to take underwood for fuel for domestic purposes was then a highly valued privilege.

For a long period the repeated invasions made by the Scots were a great source of trouble to the people of Lancashire, so much so that in 1290 the land about Lancaster was reported to be sterile and uncultivated, and the towns of Ribchester and Preston had been nearly destroyed. Another contributing cause to the depopulation of the county was the ravages made by the "Black Death," which, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, made its appearance, and in some places carried off a very large percentage of the inhabitants. In ten parishes of Amoundeness alone 13,180 perished in about four months. It will not be necessary here to give an account of the Dukes of Lancaster, but we should not omit to mention that in 1353, Henry, the son of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, was created the first Duke of Lancaster, and was empowered to hold a chancery court for the duchy and enjoy all the liberties and regalities belonging to a county palatine. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, John of Gaunt, who died in 1399; during his time Lancaster Castle was partly rebuilt. It may be well to note here that the County Palatine and the Duchy are not identical—to the former belong many places not in the latter.

Lancashire was first represented in Parliament in

1259, when the shire returned two members; but in 1295 two burgesses were sent from each of the towns—Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, and Liverpool. At this period the only two seaports of any importance were Liverpool and Preston, but at neither place was there much shipping beyond what was used for fishing purposes. The beginning of the fourteenth century witnessed a rapid increase in the prosperity of some of the towns, as, for example, at Preston the influx of people from the surrounding districts was so great that it was found necessary to pave the streets; and to enable the Corporation to do this, Royal Letters Patent were issued in 1314, empowering them to levy toll upon all goods and merchandise brought into the town for sale. The articles which thus became taxable serve well to indicate the every-day wants of the community of this rising town. The following examples are also of interest as showing the amount of toll paid.

A horse-load of corn, ¼d.; horses, cows, and oxen, ½d.; hides of horses, cows, or oxen, fresh, salted, or preserved, ¼d.; any kind of carts bringing flesh, fresh or salted, 1d.; hogs, ¼d.; two small pigs sold before Easter, ½d.; lamprey sold before Easter, ½d.; ten sheep, goats, or pigs, ½d.; ten skins of sheep's wool, ½d.; ten skins of stags, hinds, or fallow deer, 1d.; skins of hares, rabbits, cats, wolves, or squirrels, 1d.; a cart-load of salt, 1d.; a horse-load of salt, ½d.; one cwt. (100 pounds) of flax, 1d.; a quarter of canvas, 1d.; of Irish cloth, 1d.; cloth of silk (*panno de serico*), with gold, samite (a kind of silk with gold thread in it), diaper, and baudkin,[1] 1d.; silk cloth without gold, ½d.; a bale of silk and a cart-load of sea-fish, 2d.; a horse-load of sea-fish, ½d.; hogshead of wine, 2d.; a cart-load of iron or lead, 2d.; 1,000 lbs. of alum and copperas, 1d.; 1,000 onions, ¼d.; 1,000 herrings, ½d.; cart-load of timber, ¼d.; 1,000 shingles,[2] ¼d.;

1 A material introduced into England in the thirteenth century.

2 Small pieces of wood for the roofs of houses.

1,000 nails for house building, 1d.; 100 horseshoes and wheel-tires for carts, 1d.; hoops for brewers' casks, ¼d.; half-a-dozen cheeses, ¼d.; a horse-load of butter, ½d.

Shortly after this (in July, 1322) a great part of North Lancashire was laid waste through the successful invasion of Bruce, and Preston suffered considerably; but, nevertheless, six years afterwards the burgesses obtained a Royal Charter to hold a weekly market and a five days' fair annually. The old castles, which were now a prominent feature in the county, will form the subject of another article.

During the fifteenth century the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster were raging, and in a great measure account for the paucity of material concerning the history of the county. At this period the monastic institutions formed the centres of religious thought and feeling. Very few churches were built, but the abbeys and monasteries did much to relieve the poor and, in some degree, to educate their children, whilst to maintain the magnificent buildings and establishments they found work for farm labourers and handicraftsmen of various kinds. But the days of the monkish rule were fast coming to a close when, by the dissolution of religious houses, their cherished possessions passed into lay hands, which was only a prelude to the destruction of buildings which had for centuries stood as living witnesses to the skill and artistic power of the mediæval architect and workman. During the century preceding the dissolution, many chantries were founded in the churches of Lancashire.

The last abbot of Whalley, John Paslow, was amongst the Lancashire men who took part in the "Pilgrimage of Grace."

Of the old abbey of Whalley enough now remains to show what a stately building it once was. It stood on a site containing nearly thirty-seven statute acres, and was approached through two strong gateways, which are still standing.

At this time many of the clergy had to leave the country, and found shelter in Geneva, Strasburg, and in various parts of Holland. Some of these returned when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, but many died in exile.

The Reformation was not generally accepted in Lancashire, a large number of the old families remaining true to the old form of religion, notwithstanding that many of the local clergy, rather than resign their livings, nominally accepted the new form; but, at best, they were for the most part only disguised Papists. The Earl of Derby, who was one of the persecutors of John Bradford, now became one of those who did his best to make the Roman Catholic's life a burden to him, as he knew not who was his friend nor which of his neighbours or of his household was a spy upon him.

It has often been said that Queen Elizabeth hated a Puritan only with a little less bitterness than she did a Catholic, and under these circumstances we are not surprised to find that no less than 600 recusants appeared at one of the Lancaster Assizes.

In 1567 the Queen sent a letter to the Bishop of Chester reminding him that he had been admitted to the see for his former services, but that "now, upon credible reports of disorder and contempts, especially in the county of Lancaster, we find great lack in you"; and the letter concludes with orders to the bishop to make personal visitations into the remote parts of his diocese, especially in Lancashire, and to see for himself how the Church livings were filled.

The bishop had a difficult duty to perform. In many cases, as already stated, the clergy were Papists in disguise, and even the grammar school masters were not free from suspicion. In some places, however, the bishop was supported by the clergymen, as at Preston, where the vicar, in 1547, complains that in his church

the communion table was "an old altar where a cm masses" had been said, "many swynes troofs" were better than his pulpit, whilst in his garden he had dug up altar-stone and alabaster images which, in his mistaken zeal, he had destroyed; the children were christened by "ould prestes" in private houses, and, to crown all, the parish clerk was a "Popish boy," who only turned up on Sunday to play the organ, when "such a noyse they made that no man understood" a word they sang.

The curate is charged with leading an immoral life, and "cardinge and diceing for drink."

The clerk, in his defence, said he could "sing and plaie on the organes," and teach children to sing, but he did not play "at tables in the church."

There were at this date several of the newly introduced organs in the Lancashire churches.

Many of the leading county families suffered for recusancy, and secret chapels are known to have been duly consecrated and used in the houses of the rich; but so great was the sympathy shown to their owners that it is reported that when pursuivants presented their search-warrant to the justices, they were delayed in executing them until sufficient time had elapsed to warn the recusants of the coming visitor, in order that all objectional things might be removed.

About the same time (1570) it was reported that in Lancashire there was open talk of an invasion by the Spaniards, for which provision of men, armour, horses, and munition was being prepared, and that the people utterly refused to attend church where the service was in English. So strong was this feeling amongst the Lancashire people that a Royal Commission, consisting of the bishop of the diocese, Lord Derby, and others, was appointed to "bring them to more dutiful minds," and an Act was passed by which absentees from church for more than a month became liable to a penalty of

£20. In 1574 a letter was sent by the Privy Council, in which the writer says:

> Respite to make more full certificate is very well liked in respect that the same tendeth to roote out the bottome of such abuses in that cuntrey [Lancashire] being the very sincke of Poperie where most unlawfull actes have been comitted and more unlawfull persons holden secret then in any other parte of the realme.

In 1586-7 the law against Jesuits and seminary priests, and the harbouring of them, was so severe that many gentlemen of Lancashire were in custody for recusancy.

The consequence of all this was that, in the beginning of the last decade of the century, so empty were the churches that in many places the clergy did not preach, for there was no one to preach to, whilst the people on Sundays were walking about the streets or sitting in the ale-houses, markets even being open during service time, the congregation sometimes consisting only of the parson and the clerk. Sports of all kind, such as rush-bearing, cock-fights, wakes, and bear-baits, were practised on the Sunday, and often attended by Justices of the Peace and even ecclesiastical dignitaries. According to the evidence of the Chancellor of the Duchy, it appears that in 1599 many of the church livings were in the hands of private patrons, and the clergy were for the most part unlearned; and this led to the appointment of lecturers, who were afterwards known as King's preachers. The strife between the Puritans and the Catholics did not end with the death of Queen Elizabeth, nor did their persecution cease. James I., by his publication of *The Book of Sports*, did not please either party; the Puritans were indignant because games and sports of all kinds were allowed to be indulged in after divine service on Sunday, and the Catholics were equally offended because their non-attendance at church debarred them from joining in the sports. Gradually the Puritans gained ground in the county, until Lancashire in the time of Charles I. was one of their greatest strongholds.

From the Church Survey taken in 1650 we learn that there were then in the county 63[1] parishes and 118 chapels of ease, of which 38 had no maintenance provided, and, consequently, the cure was either vacant or only partially supplied.

In October, 1646, nine classical Presbyteries were appointed to manage church affairs in Lancashire. The return to the old form of religious worship soon followed the restoration of Charles II., but the Act of Uniformity of 1662 pressed heavy on the local clergy, and no less than sixty-seven of them were ejected from their livings, and to the cruelty and injustice of this step we owe the rise and rapid spread of Nonconformity in Lancashire. Some of the ejected ministers were men of high character and ability, and soon gathered around them many who, under less drastic treatment, would have continued members of the Church. The development of the various religious sects which followed would be out of place in this article, but a passing notice may be made to the Quakers. George Fox (the founder of the Society of Friends), in 1652, whilst on a visit to Swarthmore Hall, near Ulverston, was converted to this newly-formed sect by the young wife of Judge Fell (whom he afterwards married), and through the influence of the two a fairly large number of people in that district became Quakers. Lancaster contained many converts, and in 1660 a meeting in that town was broken up by a party of soldiers, the whole of those present being taken prisoners; indeed, about this time the castle was said to be almost full of Quakers in custody. As they made no attempt to conceal their meetings, arrests were of very frequent occurrence, and, as a body, they were very harshly treated. Dr. Halley says of them that although "their sufferings were cruelly severe, it must be acknowledged that they provoked much of the persecution which they so patiently endured, and repelled

1 North Meols omitted in the Survey, so this should be 64.

the assistance which good men of other parties would have been ready to afford them. A modern Friend mild, pleasant, neatly dressed, carefully educated, perfected in proprieties, is as unlike as possible, except in a few principles, to the obtrusive, intolerant, rude, coarse, disputatious Quaker of the early days of their sect." An example of what Dr. Halley meant will be found in a pamphlet written by Leonard Fell, a minister of the society for nearly fifty years, in which he states that the informers against the "Friends" in the north were "either Highwaymen or such as have been arraigned for Fellony or are come out of Gaols or idle Fellows that have spent their estates if they had any." After the passing of the Toleration Act of 1689, Presbyterian or Independent chapels were erected in many of the towns, so that in 1715 they numbered forty-three, in which the congregation in the aggregate amounted to over 18,000. One of the oldest of these chapels was at Elswick, in the parish of St. Michael's-on-Wyre; another small chapel was at Wymondhouses, and was built by the Rev. Thomas Jolley, whose Diary was printed recently by the Chetham Society (vol. xxxiii., n.s.). Wesley often visited Lancashire, but it was not until about 1746 that Wesleyanism became a feature in the Nonconformity of the county.

In 1819 there were in Lancashire 77 Catholic chapels, and in 1823 the Dissenting places of worship included 68 Independent, 27 Baptist, 32 Unitarian, 4 Scotch Kirk, 3 Scotch Presbyterian, and 180 Wesleyan.

From Leland's visit to Lancashire in 1533 we get a glimpse of some places in the county as they then presented themselves to the eyes of a passing stranger. In the northern parts he travelled past large deer forests, and records the existence of great areas of moss and uncultivated land, with here and there hill-sides covered with fir trees and forest timber. At Liverpool he found paved streets, a "castelet" belonging to the King, and

a "stone howse," where dwelt the Earl of Derby; there was a good haven much frequented by Irish merchants, who brought there much Irish [linen] yarn, which was purchased by men from Manchester. Another thing which seems to have struck him as peculiar was that in the town there was only a chapel, the parish church (Walton-on-the-Hill) being three miles away. A few years later (1538) he came to Manchester, which he describes as "the fairest, best builded, quickhest, and most populous tounne of al Lancastreshire." Yet he was surprised that it had only one parish church, which was a college. Salford he calls a large suburb of Manchester.

Our traveller calls Bury "but a poore market," and describes Croston as having "a poore or no market"; whilst Bolton he says "stondith most by cottons and cowrse yarne," and here he adds they burn "sum canale but more se cole, of wich the pittes be not far off." Ormskirk Leland describes as a town without a river, but surrounded by mosses. Of Preston he records that it had a market-place, and the town itself was "fair," and it had only one parish church. Of Lancaster he reports that the old town was said to have been almost burnt, and formerly stood "partely beyounde" the Black Friars; the new town was built near the "descent from the Castel." Referring to the town walls, he adds that he "espiyed in no place that the Toune was ever waullid."

Charles I. found it necessary to raise money very often by subsidies, from the writs for which we may glean a few items bearing upon the relative conditions of various places in the county. Thus, in 1635, it was stated that if all the towns were to be taxed according to their estate, Liverpool was to pay little, being very poor. Lancashire had to furnish one ship of 400 tons burden, 160 men, and £1,000, towards which Preston was to raise £40, Lancaster £30, Wigan £50, Liverpool only £25, and Clitheroe and Newton £7 10s. each.

In 1643 a sum of £2,000 was levied upon the county, at a general meeting of Deputy-Lieutenants, to aid Sir Thomas Fairfax and his soldiers, and it is of interest to note the proportion ordered to be collected in each hundred. Blackburn raised £271, Salford £245, West Derby £195, Leyland £99, Amounderness £239, Lonsdale £300.[1] The treasurer for this fund was Humphrey Chetham, of Clayton Hall.

Of the Civil Wars, which began in 1642, and only ended, as far as Lancashire was concerned, in 1651, it is not possible here to go into; the tale has often been told, and many of its interesting features will be described in other parts of these volumes. The people of Lancashire were strangely divided, in many cases families providing fighting men for the King and for the Parliament. The Catholics were mostly on the side of the King, and suffered severely for their loyalty. A striking example of this is furnished in the case of Thomas Clifton, of Lytham. As a recusant he was disarmed, but when the wars broke out he (with others in a similar plight) petitioned that the order might be rescinded, as they wished to defend their county and King against the threatened dangers. The request was granted, and several of his sons took an active part in the struggles between King and Parliament, two of them being slain; but when the Cromwell party came into power his estates were at once confiscated.

Manchester was the first place in Lancashire attacked by the Royalists, under Lord Strange, as the town was in possession of the rebels, who, in a primitive way, had fortified it. Ultimately the Parliamentary side gained the victory.

During the following winter Preston, Blackburn, Wigan, and Bolton all took measures to enable them to withstand a siege. Many battles (on a small scale) and sieges took place in Liverpool, Preston, Bolton,

1 Shillings and pence not quoted.

Wigan, Lancaster, and other places, the most famous of which was the siege of Lathom (see "The Siege of Lathom"); and several of our old castles were put in battle array and called upon to roll back the tide of war. Manchester all through the war held with the Parliamentary party; but, on the Restoration, no town was more ready to welcome the new King, and on his coronation, 22nd April, 1661, the citizens had great rejoicings, and finished their programme (which included a procession and attendance at the parish church) by a visit to the conduit which supplied the town with water, but which on this occasion was made to run in three streams of claret, and there drinking His Majesty's health.

The population of our larger towns largely increased when the country settled down after the troubled times were over. Manchester in 1688 had 500 ratepayers, who occupied premises in seventeen streets or lanes. Preston had now some 6,000 inhabitants. Liverpool in 1673 was a "bold, safe harbour, in which, at high-water, ships could ride at ten fathoms." New trades had also developed. The manufacture of fustians, linen and woollen cloths, and other fabrics was carried on in several places. Pottery was extensively made in Liverpool. In many of the smaller towns were fulling, or, as they were then called, walk mills; and in many of the cottages, and even in private houses, a pair of looms formed part of the fittings. The unpopularity of William III. was as pronounced here as in other parts of the kingdom, and culminated in what was known as "the Lancashire Plot," which originated in the mistaken efforts of the friends of James II., who attempted to raise up a party of supporters to his claims to the throne. One of the chief actors in this plot was Dr. Bromfield, who, disguised as a Quaker, rapidly passed through the north of England with this object in view, and having paid a visit to Scotland, he

returned to Croxteth, the seat of Caryl, Lord Molyneux, who was Lord Lieutenant of the county, and in whom he found a sympathizer if not an active supporter. This plot included the death of the King. Two other Lancashire conspirators were Edmund Threlfall, of Ashes, in Goosnargh, and Thomas Tyldesley, of Myerscough Lodge. The plot was soon discovered, and the Justices of the Peace at the adjourned Quarter Sessions at Manchester informed the Secretary of State that the gaols were full of Irish Roman Catholics, and others were secreted in private houses, and also that boxes containing weapons had been discovered. Lund and Threlfall and others were arrested and sent for trial. Full details of this plot, and the trial at Manchester of other Jacobites in 1694, are given in vol. xxviii. of the Chetham Society.

In the time of William and Mary (1689-1694), Celia Fiennes, sister of the third Viscount Saye and Sele, rode on horseback through some parts of the county, and left a record of the then appearance of some of the towns which are worth repeating.

Leverpoole is built just on the river Mersy mostly new houses of brick and stone after London fashion: ye first original was a few fishermen's houses and now is grown to a large fine town and but a parish and one church, tho' there be 24 streetes in it. There is indeed a little chappell and there are a great many dessenters in the town. Its a very Rich trading town, ye houses of brick and stone built high and Even that a streete quite through looks very handsome — the streets well pitched. There are abundance of persons you see well dress'd and of good fashion, . . . its London in miniature as ever I saw anything. There is a very pretty Exchange stands on 8 pillars besides the corners wch are Each Arche pillars all of stone and its railed in over wch is a very handsome town hall—over all is a tower and a Cupilow thats so high that from thence on has ye whole view of ye town and the country round—on a clear day you may see ye Isle of Man.

Ye towne of Prescote stands on a high hill, a very pretty neate market town—a large market place and broad streets well pitch'd.

On her way she avoided going

by the famous mer call'd Martin mer that as ye proverb sayes has parted many a man and his mare. Wiggons [Wigan] is another pretty market

town built of stone and brick, here it is that the fine Channell Coales are in perfection. Of the coale they make saltcellars, stand-dishes and many boxes and things wch are sent about for curiosities and sold in London and are often offer'd in the Exchange in company wth white and black mable and most people deceived by them wch have not been in these countreys and know it. . . . I bought some of them.

At Preston

I passed by Sir John Bradshaws house wch stood on ye declineing of a hill in the midst of a fine grove of trees . . . in the road on the banck where on the redge stood was Errected a high stone pillar carv'd and a ball on ye top with an inscription cutt on it shewing the Cause of it, being the monument of an officer that in a fight just there, his horse takeing ye hedge and Ditch on some distaste he tooke at ye Gunns. . . Preston is a very good market town.

Calling at Goscoyne [Garstang] to bait, her ladyship was presented with

ye clap bread wch is much talked of made all of oates which was brought in a great basket . . . and set on the table full of thin waffers as big as Pancakes and drie so that they easily break into shivers.

The town she calls a little market town.

Lancaster

town is very good, . . . but old and much decay'd there has been a monastery, the walls part of it remaine and some of the carv'd stones and figures . . . the town seems not to be much in trade as some others, but the great store of fish makes them live plentifully as also the great plenty of all provisions.

The streets are some of them well pitch'd and of a good size: when I came into the town the stones were so slippiry crossing some of the channels that my horse was quite down on its nose. . . I cannot say the town seemes a lazy town and there are trades of all sorts, there is a Large meeteing house but their minister was but a mean preacher.

At Rochdale

I went to an acquaintances house Mr. Taylor and was Civilly Entertained. There is a good Large Meeteing place well filled; these parts Religion does better flourish than in places where they have better advantages.

Manchester

looks well at the Entrance: very substantiall buildings the houses are not very lofty, but mostly of brick and stone, the old houses are timber work [the church, college, and library are described] . . . the market place is large it takes up two streetes Length when the market is kept for their Linnen Cloth, Cottontickings wch is the manufacture of the town. This is a thriving place.

The Catholics of Lancashire in the beginning of the eighteenth century were ready to join what was known as the Rebellion of 1715, as they had not yet forgotten the cruel persecution to which their ancestors had been subjected, and they at once joined the Jacobite party. In Manchester the continuation of the Toleration Act caused, in June, 1715, a serious riot, led by a peruke-maker called Thomas Syddal, when the mob nearly destroyed the Presbyterian chapel in Acres Field (now Cross Street), which was then the only Dissenting place of worship in the town. By November the rebellion had assumed a serious aspect, and on the seventh of that month the Scottish army, with its Lancashire contingent, entered Lancaster, and at the Market Cross proclaimed the Pretender King, and, proceeding to the castle, released the political prisoners, amongst whom was the now famous wig-maker of Manchester. A contemporary writer says that on this occasion the officers of the rebel army, "trimed in their best clothes," took "a dish of tea with the ladyes," who "apeared in their best riging."

At Preston, afterwards, the Pretender was proclaimed at the cross, and many Catholic gentlemen joined the force, amongst whom were representatives of some of high position. The insurgent army now consisted of some 4,000 men.

Whilst the Jacobites appeared to be indulging in this triumphant march, and feasting and flirting with the Lancaster and Preston ladies, the Government had not been idle, as the rebels found when troops, under General Carpenter and General Wells, surrounded the town. A very feeble resistance was made, after which a parley was called, and an unconditional surrender followed, and some 1,500 prisoners were taken, and not long afterwards tried. Of the Lancashire prisoners, forty-three were hanged at Preston, Wigan, Garstang, Manchester, Liverpool, and Lancaster, and in most cases their estates forfeited.

Prince Charles Edward, the son of the Pretender, when he went through Lancashire in November, 1745, found many supporters, especially in Manchester, where Colonel Francis Townley had command of "the Manchester Regiment." This rebellion was of only short duration, but several Lancashire men were amongst its victims. The heads of Townley and George Fletcher, who managed his mother's drapery shop in Salford, were placed on Temple Bar, whilst the heads of Thomas Syddal (whose father was executed in 1715) and Thomas Deacon were fixed on the spikes on the top of the Manchester Exchange.

Notwithstanding the increase in the population of the towns and gradual development of new industries, in 1753 all the roads of the county were infested with highway-robbers and in a dreadful state of repair, and, in consequence, it took about ten days for a stage-waggon to make the transit from Manchester to London.

Before the century closed, especially after the American war, Lancashire showed a great increase in commercial schemes and enterprise. All over canals were opened, on some of which packet-boats, as they were called, carried passengers. At Liverpool over 4,500 vessels arrived each year, but the tonnage was only one-fifth of that of the London-bound ships.

The chief trade of Liverpool was with Africa and the West Indies, the greatest portion of the business being connected with the slave market.

But the element which led to the great success of Lancashire was the cotton trade, and everything which followed in its wake. The various inventions of such men as Lewis Paul, John Kay, James Hargreaves, Richard Arkwright, Samuel Crompton, and others, all contributed to the development of what was soon to become the staple trade of the county; but it was not until several years had elapsed that these various inventions were

put to practical use. William Radcliffe (an improver of the power loom) records that in 1770

> the land [in Mellor, near Manchester] was occupied by between fifty and sixty farmers . . . and out of these were only six or seven who raised their rents directly from the produce of the farm: all the rest got their rents partly in some branch trade, such as spinning and weaving woollen linen or cotton. The cottagers were employed entirely in this manner, except a few weeks in the harvest. . . . Cottage rents at that time, with a convenient loom shop and a small garden attached, where from one and a half to two guineas per annum. The father would earn from 8s. to half a guinea, and his sons, if he had one, two, or three alongside of him, 6s. or 8s. a week; but the great sheet-anchor of all cottagers and small farms was the labour attached to the hand wheel; and when it is considered that it requires six or eight hands to prepare and spin yarn . . . sufficient for the consumption of one weaver, this shows clearly the inexhaustible source there was for labour of every person from the age of seven to eighty years to earn their bread, say, from 1s. to 3s. per week without going to the parish.

It is curious to contrast this with the present conditions, when, in a moderately sized cotton-mill, enough yarn is spun in a day as would go twice round the world.

At the period just referred to, the hand-loom worker had often to walk many miles in collecting the weft from the spinners, and the invention of the fly-shuttle did not improve his position, as the production of the spinning-wheel did not materially increase. Kay's invention, though first used for woollen weaving, was made subsequently adaptable for cotton; but the invention of the spinning-jenny very soon relieved this difficulty. That the men who had all their lives been accustomed to get their daily bread by hand-labour should have been jealous and suspicious of the various machines introduced to supersede their primitive industries was only natural, and the low standard of education then obtainable did not enable them to look forward to the future results, and led them into many riotous acts. Thus the model spinning-jennies of Hargreaves were broken to pieces by the mob, and his

household goods destroyed. The mill of Robert Peel, where the machines were used, was reduced to ruins. Before 1771, however, Hargreaves' invention was used all over Lancashire.

Richard Arkwright, the Preston barber, who was born in that town in 1732, after perfecting great improvements in Lewis Paul's invention for spinning cotton by roller, retired to Nottingham, fearful of receiving the same treatment as Hargreaves; but the mill which he built in Chorley was attacked, in October, 1779, by a mob of some two thousand men, who destroyed the building and its machinery; and, but for the timely interference of military powers, a similar fate would have been shared by the mills at Blackburn, Preston, Wigan, and other towns. At Bolton it is said that at a later date £10,000 worth of mill property was destroyed.

Another great benefactor to the trade was Samuel Crompton, of Firwood, near Bolton, where his father had a small farm. He was born 3rd December, 1753, and soon after his birth his father removed to Hall-in-the-Wood (near Bolton), which is now celebrated as the place where he invented the "mule," which at once effected great improvement in the method of making yarns, of which much finer fabrics could be manufactured.

Whilst the riots went on Crompton worked in secret at his model, and having brought it as he thought to perfection, and being too poor to pay for a patent, he was, as he tells us,

> reduced to the cruel necessity either of destroying my machine altogether or giving it to the public. To destroy it I could not think of; to give up that for which I had laboured so long was cruel. In preference to destroying I gave it to the public.

To encourage him to do this a few manufacturers of Bolton agreed to give him one guinea each, but the total received was only about £60.

In contrast to this, the Rev. Edmund Cartwright in 1784 took out a patent for a power-loom, which never

really was used by the trade, but for which Parliament made him a grant of £10,000. It may be added that Crompton, after a long delay, did obtain from the House of Commons £5,000. He died 26th June, 1827, and had, for some few years, been living on a small annuity (raised by his friends) of £65.

The original cotton and woollen mills were worked by horse or water power; but just at the time when the scarcity of available water-power began to make itself felt, the genius of Watts and Boulton so improved the steam-engine as to render it workable for cotton-mills.

Bolton was the first town in which a mill was worked by steam-power; this was in 1790. At that date very little cotton was imported from the United States. In 1784 a ship from America reached Liverpool having on board eight bags of cotton, which were seized by the Custom House as not being a product of the United States; but in 1791 189,316 lbs. came from that country, while in 1871 England received from the same source 1,038,677,920 lbs. The story of the rapid rise of the cotton and woollen trades is well known, and is of such modern date that it can scarcely be fitly included amongst "Old Memorials."

Lancashire was not an early centre of the printing press, but it is certain that in the time of Elizabeth a few Catholic books were issued from a private secret press, believed to have been worked at Lostock Hall, near Bolton, the seat of the Andertons; and from a wandering press were issued several prints known as the "Martin Marprelate Tracts." This was seized by the Earl of Derby at Newton Lane, near Manchester. The printers were apprehended and tried at Lambeth, 15th February, 1588, when one Hodgkins and his assistants confessed that they had printed "More Work for the Cooper."

The first book printed in Manchester was entitled "Mathematical Lectures: being the first and second that

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were read to the Mathematical Society at Manchester. . . . Manchester, printed by Roger Adams at the Parsonage, and sold by William Clayton at the Conduit, 1719."

Liverpool's first book was printed in 1712 by "S. Terry for Daniel Birchall," and entitled *Hyms Sacred to the Lord's Table.*

Local newspapers appeared early in the eighteenth century in all the large towns of Lancashire. Amongst them were *Leverpoole Courant*, 1712; *Manchester Weekly Journal*, 1737; *The Lancashire Journal*, 1738 (Manchester); Orion Adams' *Weekly Journal* (Manchester), 1752; Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser*, 1756. Printing presses were at work at Warrington in 1731; Preston, 1740; Wigan, 1760; Bolton, 1761; Prescot, 1779; Lancaster, 1783; Kirkham, 1790; Blackley, 1791; Blackburn, 1792; Bury, 1793; Rochdale, 1796; Burnley, 1798; Haslingden, 1793.

Of Lancashire a hundred years ago, just after the introduction of the steam-power worked mills and the consequent rush to the various manufacturing centres, we have not many reliable accounts; but from various writers we obtain graphic glimpses of the state of some of the larger towns. Thus Miss E. J. Spence (the daughter of a Durham physician), writing to a friend in 1807, says of Warrington that "the dirtiness of the people here exceeds what I could have believed in any part of the kingdom." Whilst journeying to Bolton, "the apparel of the women in some of the villages we passed through," she states, "were scarcely decent, and all the children were without shoes and stockings." At Rochdale she was struck with the handsome houses of some of the manufacturers, "whose wealth appears as unbounded as the magnificence of their tables." The streets of Manchester she found "inconveniently narrow, with very few noble buildings or handsome houses"; but, she adds, "the population is immense and the traffic considerable,

and it has acquired great celebrity from its exclusive manufactories, so productive, all over the kingdom." Miss Spence found the dialect peculiarly inharmonious, and, as spoken by the peasantry, beyond her comprehension. The costume of the working women in the manufacturing towns she describes as "a long bed-gown, black stockings, and a mob-cap hanging open from the ears."

As the towns became more densely populated, and the prosperity of the people increased, it is not to be wondered at that the necessity arose for places for health resorts, and where some relaxation and change could be obtained, and the early history of some of these, now large towns, may fairly be classed amongst the "Memorials of Old Lancashire." Blackpool, the famous watering-place, in 1415 was described as "Le Pull," which subsequently became "The Poole" and the "Poole of Layton," and, finally, Blackpool, when it was, as its name implies, a small pool having a black, peaty bottom. This sheet of water was drained off and the land cultivated, and upon it, early in the eighteenth century, were built a few clay cottages with thatched roofs. Here, so the story goes, a man named Ethart Whiteside, in or about 1750, opened a small house, for which he obtained a licence as an inn; but even in 1769 there were not more than twenty or thirty houses in the place, and not a single shop. Before the close of the century other houses of entertainment were built, and it soon became the resort of large numbers, who came for sea-bathing; but for long after this no bathing-machines were used. A bell rang when the ladies were to bathe, and if, during the time set apart for them, a gentleman appeared on the parade, he was fined a bottle of wine. The price for full boarding at the hotels was 3s. 4d. a day. Blackpool is now an incorporated borough of over 50,000 inhabitants.

Southport is another of the seaside resorts which

little over one hundred years ago had no existence. Even the name had not been invented, the nearest approach to which was South Hawes, by which the district was known. About the year 1792 an enterprising landlord of one of the inns of Churchtown erected a small wooden house on the Hawes, which afterwards was dignified with the sign of "King's Arms." From this small beginning rapidly rose the present town, which has recently been incorporated, and has a population of some 50,000 inhabitants. Gregson, in his *Portfolio of Fragments*, gives what he calls a *fac-simile* of a map from the Harl. MSS., dated 1598, on which appears "Southport," but on referring to the original document no such name appears, and was evidently an interpolation of Gregson's.

It would be interesting, though perhaps not coming within the definition of "Old Memorials," to trace the increase of population from century to century, but the figures are not available; but in 1801 the whole county contained 673,486 persons; in 1851 there were 2,026,462; and according to the census of 1891, Lancashire, next to Middlesex, was the most densely populated county in the kingdom, there being 1,938 people to every square mile.

THE ROMANS IN LANCASHIRE[1]

By F. A. Bruton, M.A.

"WHEN we study the Roman remains discovered in any one county, we are dealing with a division of land which, for our purpose, is accidental and arbitrary . . . we do so not because it is scientific, but because it is convenient."

To this rule, laid down by Dr. Haverfield, Lancashire forms no exception, and yet perhaps, owing to its geographical position and features, Lancashire, so far as the Roman occupation is concerned, may lend itself a little more readily to separate treatment than some other counties. If we include for the moment part of the plain of Cheshire, we have an area, the southern boundary of which may coincide approximately with the limits of the Roman conquest before the advance northward which took place in the seventh and eighth decades of the first century of our era (Chester was, of course, occupied about A.D. 50), while to the south-west the same boundary faced at no great distance the turbulent tribes of North Wales. The long strip of low-lying land which covers a great part of southern and western Lancashire, access to which from the south is obtained through the wide gap which occurs between the high grounds of the Pennines and the hills of North Wales, affords an opportunity for an easier line of approach to the north on the west than could be

[1] I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Dr. Haverfield, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, who has kindly read this article in proof, and made some suggestions which I have gladly adopted.—F. A. B.

obtained by crossing the highlands of Yorkshire; an opportunity which was not lost sight of by the Romans, and has been utilised in later times by those who constructed some of the main lines of railway in this direction.

East of this great coast plain, mostly of the Triassic formation—so deeply indented by estuaries that one is reminded of the words of Tacitus: "The sea does not merely flow and ebb within the limits of the shore, but penetrates and winds far inland"—the high grounds of the Pennines rise abruptly, and these uplands are pushed into the county, as it were, in two well-defined masses—first, the hills that lie between the Roch and the Ribble, exposing the coal measures; and, secondly, the more isolated mass enclosed between the middle reach of the Ribble and the lower waters of the Lune, the Limestone hills of the forest of Bowland. These high grounds, against which the winds from the Atlantic discharge so much of their moisture, are drained by three rivers, whose main streams run in almost parallel lines in a south-westerly direction, and whose wide mouths we may yet learn are referred to by Tacitus, where he tells us that Agricola "would himself explore the estuaries and forests." On each of the three rivers referred to the Romans established a fort.

It is necessary to bear in mind, also, that the physical aspect of the district was widely different then from what it is now. Of no part of Britain can the graphic touches of Tacitus, and words of the same tenor by modern writers, be more true than of the district we are now considering. "It was a land of uncleared forests, with a climate as yet not mitigated by the organised labours of mankind. . . . The fallen timber obstructed the streams, the rivers were squandered in the reedy morasses, and only the downs and the hilltops rose above the perpetual tracts of wood." "The bottoms of the valleys were for the most part marshes,

and the low-lying region of the Lancashire and Cheshire plain was covered with forest and marshes so impenetrable that even as late as the Bronze Age it was rarely traversed. This," continues Professor Boyd Dawkins, from whom this second quotation is borrowed, " is proved by the rarity of the remains of this age in the Lancashire and Cheshire plain, as well as in the great low-lying tracts of clay land on the east of the Pennines." " The work of reclaiming the wilderness began in the days of Agricola. The Romans felled the woods along the line of their military roads, they embanked the rivers and threw causeways across the morasses," and in one of his most graphic passages Tacitus represents the complaint of the natives that " their very bodies and hands were worn out in draining the fens and extending the clearings in the forests."

Reference has already been made to the fact that the low ground of Lancashire was utilised by the Romans as a route to the north. Without even touching upon the vexed question of the exact lie of the Roman roads and itineraries in the district, it is interesting to notice how in Lancashire, as in other parts of the country, the directions of the railway trunk lines of the present day follow, to a certain extent, the lines of the main Roman routes. Just as a number of Roman highways radiated from London in directions not far removed from the lines of the great railway systems of to-day, so there is fair evidence that three Roman roads crossed Lancashire along lines approximately followed since by railway engineers—one coming from Chester through Manchester for York; another taking its line from Manchester through Blackburn, and sweeping round the forest of Bowland to Kirkby Lonsdale; and a third passing through Warrington, Wigan, and Lancaster to the same point, whence there was direct communication with Carlisle.

In the same way some of the principal Roman stations

coincide with what have since become great centres of population. Such are Manchester, Wigan, and Lancaster, while just outside the southern border the Romans certainly had a settlement of some kind at Warrington. There are two exceptions. The little country town of Ribchester, some five miles north-west of Blackburn, occupies the site of what was one of the largest Roman forts in England, which has yielded one of the most interesting relics of the Roman occupation found in the country. Again, on the northern border of the county the little village of Overborough, near Kirkby Lonsdale, marks the position of what was evidently a Roman station of some importance. If we add to these five a possible station of minor importance on the banks of the Ribble at Walton-le-Dale, we have named all the Roman sites at present known within the limits of the county, and the mere enumeration of these is sufficient to shew that the district could possess at that time no individual importance. With the coincidence of position of Roman sites with modern settlements, however, the resemblance ceases. There could be no stronger contrast than that between the Lancashire of to-day and the district as it was in the first four centuries of our era. What is now the busy and populous centre of a great industry was then a quite unimportant fragment of one of the outlying provinces of the Empire, interesting only perhaps as affording a route to the north, and by its more or less indented coast line offering a means of communication by sea. It did not even, perhaps, yield the mineral products which led the Romans to set value upon particular districts of the country. To increase the contrast, the Roman occupation of the district was essentially military. Roman Britain, as has been pointed out, "fell practically, though not officially, into two well-marked divisions, which coincide roughly with the low-lands which were won in the first years of the conquest and the hills which were conquered later." The southern

counties and the midlands were overcome in a few years, and, with a few definite exceptions, there probably was not a fort or fortress throughout the south of our island after the first century. The land north of a line drawn from York through Derby to Chester, though nominally conquered by A.D. 80, was not subdued, in fact, till later; and even when the subjugation was complete, the principal elements of the occupation partook of a military character. Hence all the Roman stations in Lancashire fall into the class of forts, and such settlements as sprung up in the immediate vicinity of forts. Practically all the inscriptions found point to a military occupation pure and simple. The reason is not far to seek. Lancashire, as already mentioned, was crossed by one of the main routes to the north. In common with Yorkshire, it was peopled by a tribe described by Tacitus as perhaps the most populous in the province, but which was one of the latest to be subdued, and gave more trouble to its conquerors, perhaps, than any other. The uplands which hemmed in Lancashire on the north and east were the home of the Brigantes. They occupied, indeed, the whole of what is now Yorkshire and Lancashire, as well as the counties immediately to the north of them. It was only after much fighting that this fierce tribe was first, though not finally, subdued by Cerealis. The only information we possess on the subject consists of a few meagre allusions in the *Agricola* of Tacitus, and we are so far equally ignorant of the particular lines along which Agricola himself made his advance northwards later. This uncertainty is one of the things that gives interest to work on the Roman occupation of Lancashire. Was Lancashire a base for the operations of Cerealis? Did Agricola move northwards by this route? These are questions which only the results of excavations can answer, and the answers may yet be forthcoming. But the subjugation was by no means final, and the fact

that the Brigantes revolted in the reign of Pius, and that the Derbyshire forts were necessary in the early part of the third century, shews that even so late as this the occupation of Lancashire must have been other than civil.

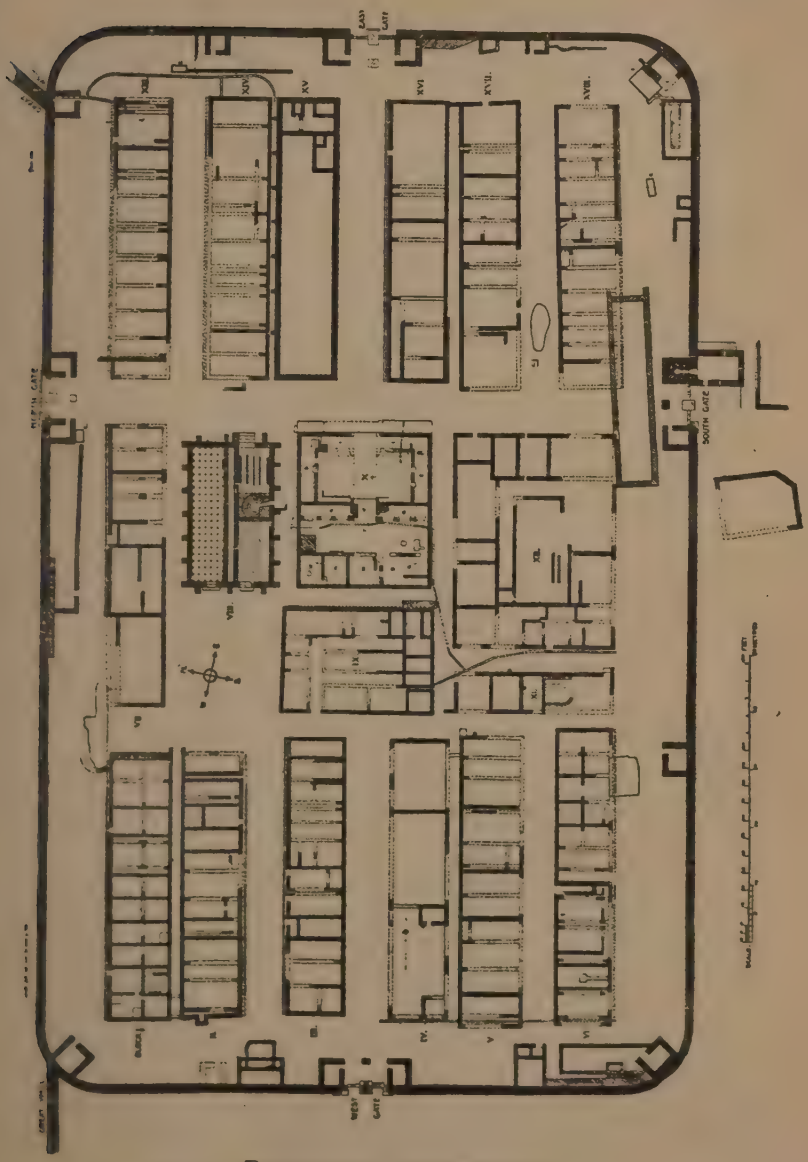
The story of the Roman occupation of the district is still wrapped in doubts. We cannot with certainty write even the Roman name of more than one or two of the five or six stations located. We cannot say when or by whom one of these was founded; apparently only of a few are there still left any substantial remains, and these are difficult to examine. Scattered up and down the county in the local museums are a few scanty relics of the occupation, and these are likely to be increased to a certain extent as the result of excavations, which may yet have something more definite to tell us. When the question is asked, What can we say about Roman Lancashire beyond what was said more than twenty years ago by Thompson Watkin? the answer is that (i.) excavations carried out during the last ten years on Roman sites in the county have thrown some definite light upon the subject; (ii.) excavations conducted on similar sites in other parts of Britain and on the Continent enable us to deduce much by analogy where direct evidence is wanting; and (iii.) in dealing with the problem Watkin perhaps lost sight of the distinction between civil and military occupation[1].

The occupation, as has already been said, was military; all the Roman stations in Lancashire of which we have any knowledge were forts—such forts as the Romans built, not to form the headquarters of a legion, but to guard roads and frontiers and hold in check the turbulent tribes of the hill country. This being so, a proper understanding of the scanty Roman remains

[1] If this remark appears to be a criticism of Watkin's work, I should like to say that no one recognizes more fully than I do the debt which all students of the Roman occupation of Lancashire owe to the labours of that painstaking and indefatigable antiquary.

found in the county will be facilitated if we turn aside for a moment to consider briefly what modern research has to tell us of the construction of these forts and the life of the Roman soldiers who garrisoned them. We may then review in detail, as far as space allows, the traces the Romans have actually left within the limits of our county.

The *castellum*, or small fort, of the Romans was constructed on certain main principles, which the excavation of something like a hundred examples in Britain and elsewhere has shewn to be fairly uniform. In fact, nothing strikes the excavator of the present day more than the uniformity in general plan and the similarity in the objects found at one fort after another. The size of these forts varied (and specific reasons can be assigned for the variation) from two or three up to six or eight and, in one exceptional case in Northern Britain, fifteen acres. In plan they invariably shew in their outline an oblong or a square, with the corners rounded off, entered by at least four gates symmetrically placed. The construction of the rampart differs in different periods, earlier forts apparently shewing defences of earth, later ones of stone. Fortunately, the complete excavation of two of these forts in Britain enables us to speak with some certainty as to the general principles on which the interior was laid out. A broad street connecting two of the gates was generally flanked on one side by official buildings, such as a headquarters-building in the centre, a commandant's residence, granaries, and other offices; while the space on the other side of the principal street was occupied mainly by long blocks of what were clearly the barracks of the soldiers. By the courtesy of Professor Bosanquet, of the University of Liverpool, we are able to shew the most complete plan yet obtained of one of these forts. It is the plan of the Roman fort of *Borcovicium*, on the wall of Hadrian, in Northumberland, which was excavated by Professor Bosanquet in 1898. It is specially suited to our purpose,



BORCOVICIUM (HOUSESTEADS).
Measured and Drawn by A. C. Dickie and R. C. Bosanquet, 1898—1899

as in size and other features it bears some resemblance to several forts in Lancashire whose remains are more slight; and already in these Lancashire forts some details have been made out as to the headquarters-buildings, the buttressed structures generally distinguished as storehouses, and the long barrack-like buildings which occupy other and less central positions in the fort. Before we refer to these it will be interesting to ask how far modern research has enabled us to reconstruct the life of the Roman soldier in these forts. The rapidly accumulating collections of relics unearthed from similar sites in this country and abroad are yearly adding to our knowledge in this respect. Notably the excavation of forts like those at the Saalburg and Pfünz in Germany, and at Newstead, near Melrose, in our own island, have thrown a flood of light on this question. As the relics of the Roman occupation of Lancashire come gradually to light, it is nearly always possible to find parallels to them among the collections taken from forts more fully excavated.

There is an almost total absence of those things that make for luxury and comfort, and which are found in the towns and "villas" scattered over the southern part of Britain. Mosaic pavements, for example, are quite unknown. On the other hand, excavation is gradually bringing to light nearly everything which pertains to garrison life. Leather clothing studded with metal, metal armour, helmets, swords, spears, and shields are represented. Practically complete sets of tools for husbandry and various handicrafts—scythes, rakes, hoes, sickles, carpenters' and smiths' tools—all these are turned up in good preservation; as are also such things as locks and keys, lamps, bells, amulets, and articles of personal ornament. The wheels and linch-pins of carts or chariots, occasionally quite perfect, the bridle-bits and harness trappings of the horses are also in evidence; and with a striking uniformity, if allowance is made for

different periods, the familiar appliances for the cooking and preparation of food. As the better classes of ware varied at different periods, the best pottery, especially as it is generally well preserved, forms a convenient criterion for dating the occupation of a site. At several of the Lancashire sites, for example, some fragments are found which may indicate an occupation as early as the first century. It would be easy to extend this list, but enough has been said to shew how far it is possible now to complete the picture of the life of these forts. If details are missing at one fort, they can be supplied from another. Thus if we find, as we do, deep wells at Ribchester, at other sites the wooden buckets and other appliances have come to light, so that we can complete the picture. To take another example, certain bronze ornaments dug up in the Manchester fort were not properly understood till similar ones were found in Germany with leather straps in position passing through them, leaving little doubt that in both cases they formed part of the harness trappings of the horses.

Nor are even social and religious elements wanting in the records which time has left us of the life of the Roman soldiers that garrisoned the forts in Lancashire. The dedications still legible upon stone altars, the inscriptions (sometimes of quite a pathetic nature) found on tombstones, relics that tell of the worship of Mithras, a religious cult that actually stood as a rival to Christianity in those times, statuettes that may have been household gods, beads and amulets—all these help us as we try to conjure up a picture of the life of the men who, under the stereotyped discipline of the Roman army, held the forts in Lancashire in the first few centuries of our era against a native tribe whose valour was noticed by more than one of the Roman poets.

With these preliminary considerations before us, we may now proceed to examine more in detail what is still preserved to us of the Roman occupation of Lancashire.

In doing so we have to deal, as has been said, with five stations, viz., those at Manchester, Wigan, Ribchester, Lancaster, and Overborough, to name them in their geographical sequence, and it will be as convenient to take them in that order as in any other.

The Roman names of these stations are at present more or less a matter of conjecture. In the second or perhaps the early part of the third century of our era, an imperial *Road Book* was compiled giving details of a number of routes in the form of a list of the stations that lay upon them. Two of these routes crossed Lancashire, one—the second—running from the extreme north of England to Richborough in Kent, and passing, between York and Chester, a station marked as *Mamucium*, which, it is generally assumed, stands for the Roman fort at Manchester; another—the tenth—concerning which we can only say with any certainty that it passed southwards through Lancashire, has these stations upon it, and in this order: *Galacum*, *Bremetennacum*, *Coccium*, *Mancunium;* and the general opinion is that these may correspond to the stations in Lancashire already referred to as situated at Overborough, Ribchester, Wigan, and Manchester respectively. The only names of which we are certain, however, are *Bremetennacum* for Ribchester, and something like *Mamucium* or *Mancunium* for Manchester, for the latter name varies so much in the different copies of the Itinerary that only the finding of an actual inscription can set the matter at rest. With this station we may reasonably commence our detailed examination of the Roman remains in the county.

"Not very much can be said to be known of Roman Manchester, and perhaps there is not much more to find. The very greatness of the modern city has stamped out the vestiges of its birth and childhood." We cannot yet write the Roman name of the fort which a cohort of Frisians built near the junction of the little River

Medlock with the River Irwell, which now takes its tortuous way through the heart of the modern city. But just where the railways of Manchester are most tangled, it is possible to trace, with a degree of accuracy which will satisfy even the archæologist, the outlines of the stronghold, and under one of the railway arches (the arch numbered 95 of the Manchester South Junction and Altrincham Railway) there still stands visible above ground a strip of the stone rampart that surrounded the fort, the existing fragment being part of the eastern wall. The trenches cut for a railway viaduct in 1898 brought to light portions of the northern wall, and excavations made in 1907 with the express purpose of locating the western boundary of the fort were rewarded by the finding of about forty feet of the wall on that side. A record as late as 1850 fixes the position of the rampart on the south, so that it is now possible to complete the outline, and to say that the fort at Manchester stood on a rising ground near the confluence of the two streams just mentioned, and that it covered an area of almost exactly five acres. It was thus one of the larger of the early forts in Britain. It was surrounded by a solid stone rampart, of which the fragment that remains still stands seven feet high above its foundations and is seven feet thick. This is not the kind of rampart that would probably be built earlier than the second century, and we may perhaps say with some degree of certainty that the fort of which remains still exist was not built before that period. The existence of a fosse outside the rampart has not been detected, and we cannot fix the position of any one of the gateways. For those who would like to trace the outlines of the Roman fort among the streets and yards of the modern city, the following itinerary may be recommended: Turn along Castle Street (which opens out of Deansgate immediately opposite Knott Mill Station) and follow its windings till it crosses the

Rochdale Canal and leads into the open space still known (and marked) as Castlefield. If the pedestrian will cross this space and halt for a moment at the junction of the railway arches numbered seven and eight, he will probably be standing on the site of the south-western corner of the fort, though much lower than the original level. The southern wall (part of which was visible in 1850) ran from this point in a line crossing the canal some forty or fifty feet beyond the little lock, and by crossing the bridge again and following the towpath for a little distance it must be possible to approach very near to the position of the southern gate. This is perhaps the best spot from which to obtain a general idea of the lie of the Roman station. The Rochdale Canal here cuts right through the rock on which the fort was built, exposing one of the finest sections of New Red Sandstone to be seen in Manchester. On the opposite side of the canal to the right, just where the arch of the iron bridge which spans the river commences, nothing but a brick wall prevents us from seeing a strip, nearly twenty feet long, of the actual rampart, built by men of the same cohort as those who constructed the walls of the Roman fort at Melandra. Standing here on the towpath, therefore, and looking in a north-easterly direction, we may imagine ourselves at the southern gate surveying the area of the fort. The northern wall of the *castellum* is best approached by turning out of Deansgate along Bridgewater Street, and passing down Collier Street to the point where it is crossed by the Cheshire Lines Viaduct. If we stand just opposite the coal shed on our right outside the gates of the timber yard, we shall be immediately over the foundations of the northern rampart, which was actually seen here in 1907 when the viaduct was in course of construction. Several pieces of this northern wall were visible as late as 1850. The line of it may be followed in imagination as far as Duke Place, where it is lost

in the warehouse of Messrs. Cookson, the southern part of which, there is reason to suppose, was "built off" the Roman wall. In the big yard to the south of Duke Place (now in the occupation of Messrs. Beattie & Co.) a strip of the western rampart was exposed in 1907, and in this yard, at the same time, an attempt was made to trace the line of the buildings of the north-western corner of the fort. The attempt was only partially successful, owing perhaps to the perishable nature of the local sandstone, but the fact was demonstrated that the lie of the streets of the fort here was parallel to the direction of Duke Street. The careful excavation of the area for several months, however, unearthed a number of interesting relics of the occupation, including objects of stone, metal, and glass, and a great variety of pottery. A beautiful silver signet ring, a drawing of which is given, and which is dated by Mr. R. A. Smith, of the British Museum, as about 300 A.D., a number of brooches and other ornaments of bronze, all dating probably from the second or third century, and an adze-head of iron in perfect preservation, were among the interesting finds. The pottery proved to be attributable to the second or third century, but the coins, of which nearly a score were found, ranged from the first to early in the fourth century. The foundations of the western rampart were examined in most minute detail. The wall was built upon a compact bed of small boulders laid in clean clay, and resting upon a substratum of the same material. A few of the dressed stones were found lying outside the foundations, but the rest had long ago been removed. This small area in the north-western corner is the only portion of the Roman fort at Manchester that has been systematically excavated. Of the remainder of the

SILVER RING FOUND IN MANCHESTER, 1907.

interior we know practically nothing. Nine lines of railway, carried on two stone viaducts, and one waterway at present run diagonally right across the area of the fort that has given its name to the city. A great part of this area is now occupied by the timber yard of Messrs. Southern and Nephew, whose lurries are perhaps loaded on the very spot once sacred to the worship of the Emperor and the other rites which were ordinarily performed in the headquarters-building of a Roman garrison. Part of this area was cut away to a great depth nearly a century ago, probably in excavating for gravel. In the course of these and other excavations a number of relics came to light which have since been preserved at the Lancashire residence of the Earl of Ellesmere, while others are more widely scattered. Of many of these we have only the record, for the objects themselves are lost. Unfortunately, the epigraphical evidence tells us very little. From centurial stones we learn that part at any rate of the stone rampart was constructed by the first cohort of Frisian infantry. The same cohort assisted in the construction of the fort at Melandra, some twelve miles distant. For the rest, an altar dedicated to Fortune the Preserver by an officer of the Sixth Legion (which had its quarters at York) probably commemorates some important event, as does also a second altar set up by an officer of the *vexillatio* of *Raeti* and *Norici;* but what these events were we shall probably never know. Tile stamps, reading C III BR, cannot even be interpreted with certainty. The smaller finds, however, shew great variety, and are easily paralleled by similar objects found on other Roman sites in Britain and abroad. They comprise a collection of pottery, including several complete vessels, a number of brooches and cloak fasteners, ranging in date from the second to the fourth century, other objects of bronze, one brooch enamelled in colours, a *phalera* or soldier's breast ornament, portions of locks and keys, a bronze

PHALERA OR BREAST ORNAMENT. ROMAN POTTERY.

From the Ellesmere Collection of Roman Antiquities found in Manchester.

flagon, an iron axe-head, the blue glass beads so common on Roman sites, a bust made of lead, and a *bulla* of gold. One of the most perfect of the relics is the little statuette of Jupiter. One tile stamp of the Twentieth Legion finds a place in the collection. A great quantity of Roman pottery has been found outside the area of the Roman fort, notably on the site of the new police-station in Bridgewater Street and at Knott Mill Station. The collection has been made by carefully watching the excavations made for building during the last twelve years, a piece of work voluntarily undertaken by Mr. Charles Roeder, whose name will always be connected with the history of Roman Manchester. A very large hoard of coins also came to light at Knott Mill. The occurrence of these remains outside the fort points to the existence of a settlement such as often sprung up round a military post in Roman times. A great number of Roman coins have been found in Manchester, covering nearly the whole period of the Roman occupation of our island. There is a gap in the frequency of coins between 180 and 260 A.D., as on some other Romano-British sites, and the number of coins of the Constantine epoch (the first half of the fourth century) is very large. It must be remembered, of course, that these coins have come to light, not as the result of systematic work upon the site, but from chance excavations made mainly for building purposes.

This is, in outline, the extent of the information we possess about the Roman occupation of Manchester, and we must wait for further details, which the removal of old buildings may yet bring to light in abundance. Here, at the junction of two streams, stood a fort of some strength and importance, garrisoned, we may assume, by about a thousand men, and marking the point where two great Roman highways crossed one another—the road that joined the great legionary

fortresses at Chester and York, and the road coming south from Carlisle by way of Lancaster, Ribchester, and Wigan.

If we now move one stage northwards on this latter road, we shall find the traces of the Roman occupation much more slight. Practically all we can say at present about the Roman station, which it is generally assumed occupied part of the site of the present town of Wigan, is that it may have been the *Coccium* of the Antonine Itinerary, but the details of the station have yet to be made out. A few coins, including a gold coin of Vitellius, the cornice of a Roman altar, and a small collection of pottery, comprise practically all the relics of which we have any record.

Far different is the case with the next station that claims our attention. Not only are the Roman remains already found at Ribchester of the first importance, but there is little room for doubt that the place may yet yield much that is of value for students of the period, though the fact that a large part of the fort lies under the churchyard sets a limit to the possibilities of excavation on the site. We are here dealing with a fort which, as has already been said, may have been one of the largest in England, covering, approximately, six acres. But the contrast between the present condition of the place and that of the two sites we have just been considering is striking. Leaving behind us the busy town of Blackburn, and pushing a few miles farther in a north-westerly direction, we presently drop into the broad green valley of the Ribble, whose waters under ordinary circumstances hardly suggest the force which it occasionally gathers in times of heavy rain. This stream has eaten away, or buried beneath itself, a large portion of the site once occupied by the Romans. What still remains lies in great part under the old church and the churchyard that surrounds it; but much has been done in recent years to bring to light those portions which are not out of reach, and much may yet be done.

Bronze Flagon and Samian Bowl found in Manchester.

The Roman fort at Ribchester, which may have covered as much as five and a half or six acres, and was surrounded by a stone rampart and a fosse, lay in a bend of the Ribble some ten miles above the point where that river opens out into an estuary. The buildings were of worked stone, and the architectural fragments that have so far come to light are rather striking. Of these structures there have been traced part of the headquarters-building and a portion of the buttressed building which is generally assumed to have been the granary. In this building was found a great quantity of charred corn, and the discovery recently of the remains of the supports of the raised floor common in such structures only confirms the conjecture that we have here one of the store-houses for grain, which reminds us of the graphic details given by Tacitus as to the tribute levied from the native population by their conquerors. In the *Agricola* he speaks of the Britons as being "compelled to endure the farce of waiting by the closed granary, and of purchasing corn unnecessarily and raising it to a fictitious price," the meaning apparently being that if they had no corn they had first to buy the corn at an exorbitant price, and then pay it as tribute, the corn never leaving the granary at all. Agricola not only removed this abuse, but also put a stop to the practice of compelling those Britons who had a winter camp close to them to carry their tribute by "difficult by-roads" to "remote and inaccessible parts of the country," the object of this practice being apparently to compel the Britons to pay a heavy money tribute in lieu of corn.

As we pass through the little town of Ribchester to-day, we see in front of one of the inns, and forming part of its porch, four Roman-Doric columns, which are said to have been found in the river bed opposite the church. Winding round to the rectory we find there, and in the grounds of an adjacent residence and in the churchyard, the bases of a number of much

larger columns. Quite recently portions of columns were raised from one of the Roman wells, no less than three of which have been found upon the site in the course of a single year; and with the columns were two very large capitals, whose dimensions alone say much for the massiveness of the edifice they adorned, whatever that may have been. The remains of nearly twenty columns have now been recovered. Some of the bases are *in situ* in the headquarters-building.

The inscriptions and relics which the site has yielded are of equal interest. Two wall-stones record the share borne by the Twentieth Legion and by a century of the tenth cohort (presumably of that legion), respectively, in the construction of the fort. There are records of no less than nine altars, one of which (now preserved with other Ribchester relics in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge) tells us that a troop of Sarmatian cavalry was stationed at Ribchester; the date of this may be the first half of the third century. The inscriptions on two tombstones give similar evidence. Another altar was set up by an officer of a "wing" of Asturian cavalry. Three of the altars are dedicated to Mars. One other inscription must be mentioned, though we have no further evidence as to the subject of it. It records the restoration of a ruined temple in the third century of our era.

Of great interest are the monumental stones. These were found at a spot about a quarter of a mile from Ribchester along the river bank. The finest is preserved in a case in the Blackburn Museum, and a woodcut of it is here reproduced. It is said to be the second of the same pattern found at Ribchester. Similar monumental stones have been found on several other Roman sites in Britain. The work is rude, but there is life in the figures. A horseman is represented riding over a prostrate foe, into whom he strikes his spear. The dress of the rider, as well as the bridle and trappings of the horse, are shewn in some detail. The horseman carries

Bronze Helmet found at Ribchester.

Sculptured Tombstone from Ribchester.
Height, 5 ft.; Breadth, 2½ ft.

a shield on his left arm, and wears a short sword at his side. The prostrate figure holds an oval shield. The inscription on another tombstone gives us an interesting glimpse into the family life of the Roman cavalry officer stationed at Ribchester. "In this earth," runs the inscription, "is held the last of Aelia Matrona, she lived 28 years 2 months and 8 days, and Marcus Julius Maximus, her son, he lived 6 years 3 months and 20 days, and Campania Dubitata, her mother, she lived 50 years. Julius Maximus, a 'singularis consularis' of the 'wing' of Sarmatian cavalry, the husband, placed this monument to an incomparable wife, to a son most dutiful to his father, and to a mother-in-law very dear."

The real treasures yielded by the Ribchester site, however, are among the smaller relics. In 1884 there was found outside the north gateway of the fort a gold brooch in perfect preservation. It weighs 373 grains, is harp-shaped, and measures two inches by one across the bow. The loop at the end (an illustration is given) is for a clasp, which was attached to a fibula of the same kind, after old Celtic usage. The loop and collar are a purely British development. This fibula, it is conjectured by Mr. A. J. Evans, belongs to the later age of the Antonines—*i.e.*, to the second half of the second century A.D. It is now preserved in the Blackburn Museum, where permission to see it may be obtained from the Curator.

GOLD FIBULA FROM RIBCHESTER.

In 1796 a bronze helmet was found in the river bank

opposite the rectory gates, nine feet below the surface, by a boy at play. This helmet, which has for many years occupied a case of its own in the central saloon of the British Museum, is one of the most beautiful relics of the Roman occupation ever found in Britain. It consists of a mask and visor, which fit together exactly, and were fastened by rings and studs, some of which remain. Above the locks of hair which fringe the temples rises a diadem representing a bastioned wall surmounted by figures. The skull part of the helmet is decorated with six mounted soldiers and eleven on foot, all armed and in fighting attitudes. These decorated visor helmets are rare; a few have been found on the Continent, and two or three have turned up recently at Newstead, near Melrose. We have no precise knowledge as to their use, but from a passage in Arrian it is conjectured that they were worn at the military exercises of the cavalry.

The Roman coins found at Ribchester number nearly two hundred—there are five of gold and about a dozen of silver. They range from 50 to 380 A.D., the greater number occurring between 50 and 150 and between 250 and 350. We have no authentic information as to the time at which the fort was erected, though some of the pottery recently found is classed as first century. Nor can we date the period at which it was abandoned. The coins indicate that this could not well have been earlier than towards the end of the fourth century. It is generally agreed that there is good evidence that the place was destroyed by fire; the ruins are mingled with soot and charcoal, and the granary shews traces of severe burning.

Ribchester is the only Roman station in Lancashire the ancient name of which can be written with any degree of certainty. On one of the altars referred to above the wing of Sarmatian cavalry is designated Bremetenn . . . and this at once suggests that Ribchester is the station Bremetennacum on the tenth Iter of Antonine.

It is not too clear how the Roman highway proceeded beyond Ribchester. Immediately to the north is the straight edge of Longridge Fell, an outlier of the uplands which rise to a height of over 1,800 feet between the Ribble and the Lune, and include what is known as the forest of Bowland. It is generally assumed that one road, passing north from Wigan, crossed the Ribble at Walton-le-Dale, some seven miles lower down the river, and then made for Lancaster. The main route to the north from Ribchester, however, perhaps struck more directly north, sweeping round the eastern side of the high fells for Overborough, near Kirkby Lonsdale, the most northerly of the Roman stations known in Lancashire. It remains, therefore, to consider the Roman forts at Lancaster and at Overborough, and we will take Lancaster first. It is curious, considering the importance of the remains found at Lancaster, that the outlines of the station have been so obliterated. By passing through some cottages at the foot of the hill on which the castle stands, and climbing a steep garden, the visitor may still see a fragment of wall which tradition asserts was part of the rampart of the Roman station. This is the "Wery Wall," familiar to all who enquire into the antiquities of the place. Whether it is Roman or pre-Roman it is perhaps not now possible to say. Nor is it possible to determine what was the outline of the station which—it is always assumed—stood on the summit of the hill, and to the name of which we have no clue whatever. There are traditions of a double stone rampart, which recent excavations are said to have confirmed, but it is difficult to obtain authentic records. Successive buildings through the centuries have obliterated the traces of the Roman occupation. We can only turn to the relics, which are of interest. Taking the inscribed stones first, a slab was found in 1812 bearing an inscription which indicates that the soldiers of a wing of cavalry known as the "Sebusian" rebuilt a bath and

restored a ruined basilica in the year 222 A.D. The other inscriptions are on altars which have been found rather in the immediate vicinity of Lancaster than at the station itself. The finds of pottery have yielded a great number of potters' marks, and some of the specimens may point to as early as the first century. The coins found at Lancaster cover the whole period of the Roman occupation of Britain.

It is striking that though so little trace remains in Lancaster of the Roman station, the immediate vicinity has proved productive. It has already been mentioned that the Lancaster altars were found at some little distance from the town. At Quernmore, a short distance to the north-east, a pottery and tile factory was discovered, and here the stamp of the "wing" of Sebusian cavalry turned up once more. So recently as in the spring of 1908 a farmer digging in a field found Roman pottery, and excavation on the spot disclosed the remains of a large kiln. In the neighbourhood of Lancaster, also, there have been found more milestones than in any other part of the county. The Roman milestone, it need hardly be said, did not always serve to mark distances. It sometimes bore merely the name of the reigning emperor, and the practice was sometimes followed of inverting a milestone on the death of an emperor and re-inscribing it with the name of his successor. The most interesting was found three or four miles from Lancaster in an east-north-easterly direction, the very direction in which lies the pottery kiln referred to. It is seven feet high, marks a distance of three miles, and bears the name of Hadrian. The other two seem to date from the middle of the third century; one marks a distance of three miles, the other bears only the dedication to the emperor.

The Roman name of Lancaster is at present unknown. An inscription may, of course, at any time enlighten us on the subject, and under these circumstances it will

be better to leave undiscussed several solutions of the difficulty that have been suggested. Lancaster may not, as we have said, have lain on the direct route north from Ribchester towards Carlisle. A more direct route may have swept round to the east of the high ground of Bowland Forest for the Roman station at Overborough, which lies near the northern boundary of the county just south of Kirkby Lonsdale. It may perhaps safely be asserted that a Roman fort stood at Overborough, and if so the most likely name of the station, taking the evidence of the Itineraries—and there is no other evidence —would be Galacum. Of this station, however, very little is known. The earlier antiquaries, *e.g.* Leland and Camden, mention important finds, but these cannot now be located. Apparently the area of the station is at present included in the grounds of a mansion, and cannot be explored. Two altars, a sepulchral stone, and a gold *bulla* are the principal relics of which any record has been kept.

North of Overborough the Roman road perhaps divided. One route seems to strike due north for Carlisle by way of Sedbergh, Tebay, and Kirkby Thore; a second, whose course is less certain, may have swept round to the north-west, passing Kendal and reaching Windermere. In any case we pass at this point outside the county we have been considering, and need not follow the line of the Roman advance further.

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Our examination in some detail of the traces the Romans have left in Lancashire has only confirmed the view that was stated at the outset, to the effect that the district in the first centuries of our era possessed no special or individual importance as a portion of the Roman Empire or of Roman Britain. It was merely a chance fragment of an outlying province. As such,

however, it was typical of the military organisation of the Romans.

The advance in our knowledge of the subject, as has been shewn, is due to a better historical understanding of the meaning of remains and to systematic excavation of the sites themselves, and it is along this line mainly that we can look for enlightenment in the future. There is, indeed, one line of research from which we may hope for fruitful results—the comparative study of the pottery found at Roman stations. For the rest, the spade may not only reveal much that is yet unknown regarding the sites we have been considering, but may open up new sites hitherto undreamt of.

As we try to see the Lancashire of the first four centuries of our era, a number of questions arise to which we would fain have some answer. One wonders how the first news of the Roman invasion was received by the fierce tribe that then dwelt in the basins of the Mersey, the Ribble, and the Lune, and on the western slopes of the Pennines. How many of the sites of which we have been speaking were chosen by Agricola at a time when, as his biographer tells us, "garrisons and forts were established with a skill and diligence with which no newly acquired part of Britain had before been treated"? How far was it true of Lancashire that, as has been said, "the people of the north knew only hunting and pasturing, and were always ready for feud and rapine," while the south developed itself to a moderate prosperity by cattle-rearing, agriculture, and the export of corn to the Rhine lands? To what extent were recruits drawn from our county to swell the ranks of the British troops that were reckoned as the flower of the army in the more distant parts of the Empire? How far did the proximity of Lancashire to a great legionary fortress, and the fact that it was crossed by two main Roman routes, bring it under that

"Romanizing" influence which, it is generally assumed, was confined to the southern half of Britain, and hardly touched the districts where the hold on the population was mainly military? And to what extent did Lancashire, when that hold was finally relaxed—"not because Britain gave up Rome, but because Rome gave up Britain"—fall back more than other and more fully Romanized districts into its original condition? To some of these questions the answers can never be forthcoming. On all of them the records, whether epigraphical, literary, or archæological, are so far silent. For the solution of those to which answers are still possible, we can look to one source only—systematic excavation.

OLD-TIME TRAVEL IN LANCASHIRE

By William Harrison

TRAVEL by railway, though only of comparatively recent introduction, has by this time become so universal, and has so thoroughly engrained itself into the habits of Englishmen, that it is only by an effort of the imagination that most people can contemplate an inland journey of any length by road. It is true that within the last few years bicycles and motor-cars have done something to revive the memory of the later coaching times, when the common roads were alive with traffic of all kinds. But those times were themselves brief, and we need not go much further back to reach a period when stage-coaches were as great an innovation as the railways were to become later. The local travel of this anterior period, stretching back to early mediæval times, has an interest of its own. It may not, therefore, be without profit if we endeavour to trace out the original main lines of communication in Lancashire, describe the state of the roads of the county from time to time, and to set forth the modes, conditions, and incidents of travel, so far as a knowledge of those things has come down to us.

In Lancashire, as in many other districts, the great lines of travel were dictated from the beginning by the physical configuration of the land. There are in the county three great rivers, each flowing from the eastern hills to the western sea. At the lowest point on each at which a bridge could be conveniently thrown across we find a town erected: on the Lune, Lancaster; on the Ribble, Preston; on the Mersey, Warrington.

Through these towns it was inevitable that a great road to the south should run, making a direct line instead of one following the irregularities of the coast, and such we find to have been in fact the case. Along this direct line ran the Roman road. Along it runs to-day the West Coast railway to Scotland, and along it ran the chief Lancashire road of the Middle Ages. The earliest map we have showing anything of Lancashire—that of about A.D. 1300, preserved in the Bodleian Library—shows distinctly this road, and this road alone, stretching along on its way from London to Carlisle. Among the earliest bridges, too, of which we have any record in the county are those of Lancaster, Preston, and Warrington, of all of which we hear in the thirteenth century. Not many other bridges do we hear of at this early period; indeed, the list is about exhausted when we have named also those at Manchester and Stockport, on the great road to Derbyshire, and Cowan Bridge, in the remote north-eastern corner of the county. This last-named, by the way, affords an early instance of a bridge supported by tolls. This is explainable by its peculiar position on the great highway between Yorkshire and Westmorland. As it existed only for the traffic of these two counties, it was only fair that the burden of keeping it up should not be thrown on the county in which it happened to be situated. The Corporation of Lancaster for some hundreds of years received the tolls, and, it is presumed, kept the bridge in repair.

Though the roads we have just named were the only "great roads," there were no doubt many other highways suitable for foot and horse. Parishes in the county were exceptionally large, and there would of necessity be a way of some sort from each outlying part of a parish to the parish church. There was, for instance, a way by which the dwellers in Rossendale could reach their parish church at Clitheroe, twelve miles distant; but for the reason that it was "very foule, painfull, and hillous,"

they succeeded ultimately in obtaining a parish church of their own. The establishment of the religious houses provided other centres, to which roads would of necessity converge. Indeed, the roads to and from the monasteries must have been tolerably lively. There would be a stream of arriving and departing visitors. Frequent visits would have to be paid to the mother house, where such existed, or the daughter cells and granges, or the estates scattered up and down the country, which had been acquired by gift or purchase, and whence would be regularly brought some part of the produce. Some of the monasteries, certainly Furness, and probably Whalley, carried on a considerable trade by supplying wool to the Flemish and Florentine merchants, whom it reached from the east coast ports of Boston or Lynn. To such distant and out-of-the-way houses as Furness and Cartmel, approached over extensive sands, the maintenance of communications was of capital importance. From an early period the prior of Cartmel had thrown upon him the duty of maintaining a guide to assist travellers across the fords. The series of sands in and beyond Morecambe Bay made formidable obstacles in the way of travel to Furness or into Cumberland. The seven miles from Hest Bank to Kent's Bank, known as the Lancaster sands, involved the crossing of the channels of the rivers Keer and Kent, and there, according to the old distich,

Kent and Keer
Have parted many a man and his mare.

Then, after a few miles of terra-firma, past Cartmel, came the Leven sands, not so long but even more dangerous, as the ford was always shifting. The priory of Conishead, on the further side, had the duty of supplying a guide over these sands, and on Chapel Island, midway in the channel, they performed services for the attendance of those crossing. These sands safely crossed, the abbey of Furness was easily reached, but travellers into

Drawn by G. Pickering. LANCASTER SANDS FROM LINDELL. *Engraved by W. Le Petit.*

Cumberland had still another crossing, that of the Duddon sands. Very early in history do we find recorded instances of loss of life during the crossing of these sands. In 1269 Sir Michael de Furness was drowned on Leven sands while crossing to Aldingham after dining at the priory of Cartmel. Again, in the reign of Edward II., sixteen lives were lost at one time and six or more at another.

Besides these crossings, there were well-defined passages across the estuary of the Ribble below Preston and across the Mersey at Hale, by which travellers from the northern parts of Lancashire made their way to Chester. These were the more notable obstacles to travel. More ordinary were the numerous places where the rivers in their higher stages had to be crossed, for never can one go far without being confronted by a flowing stream, and bridges were then few. How frequent these crossing places were is indicated by the numerous place-names of which "ford" is a component part.

Where the rivers were too deep for fording, we find ferries were established at an early period. In the twelfth century ferries across the Mersey were in existence at Warrington and between Widnes and Runcorn. The right of ferry from Liverpool to Birkenhead was the property of the lord of Liverpool, and one in the opposite direction was granted by the King to the prior and convent of Birkenhead in 1331—again we see the interest of the religious houses in keeping up their communications. On the Ribble, ferries existed from very early times at Samlesbury, Elston, Balderstone, and Osbaldeston.

Thus did travellers in mediæval days overcome the obstacles which rivers placed in their way. The roads themselves probably presented little difficulty. Carriages, of course, were few, and travel was chiefly on foot or horseback. The roads in those times seem to have been tolerably good. Along them travelled the prince and

the peasant, the knight with his retainers, the judges on their circuit, the bishops on their visitations, the abbot and prior on their way from one religious house to another, the merchant with the cavalcades carrying his goods, the pilgrim intent on visiting the shrines at Durham, York, Pontefract, or Chester, or the Holy Well in North Wales. All these classes were interested in the maintenance of good roads, and they probably secured such as were at any rate good enough for their purpose. We hear of few complaints in those times, and travel seems to have been tolerably fast. But towards the end of the fifteenth century there came a change. The break-up of the feudal system, the decline of tillage, and the scarcity of agricultural labour, caused the roads to get into disrepair here as elsewhere. And then came the Reformation to accentuate the change. With the monasteries dissolved, and their scattered estates sold, abbots and priors no longer journeyed. Pilgrimages came to an end. Estates became concentrated and not scattered. Fewer people being interested in the good condition of the roads, neglect and decay naturally followed. In the latter part of the sixteenth century the roads became worse, and the cost of carriage increased. And in the following century matters in this respect became worse and worse.

In the meantime, however, the number of bridges seems to have been increasing. In the maps of Saxton and Speed at the end of the sixteenth century, we find twenty-nine shewn, and the probability is that there were some few others. Each Hundred in the county maintained its own bridges, except three, which were the affair of the whole county, viz., those at Lancaster, Walton (Ribble Bridge), and Crosford, on the Mersey, near Manchester. The number of bridges in Salford Hundred mentioned in the Manchester Constable's Accounts from 1614 onwards is considerable. We frequently read of special "lays," or rates, being levied for the repair of these bridges and of the county bridges.

In one case, that of Darcy Lever bridge, the lay was for "re-edifying," and was objected to, and seems to have aroused something like passive resistance, for the constables made a charge for writing the names of all the inhabitants that refused to pay, and afterwards for a precept to distrain for the amounts due from them. Bridge building became necessary owing to the fords being cut up by the increasing traffic. The necessity is forcibly expressed in a Quarter Sessions order in 1637 in regard to Fenysford across the Calder near Whalley. Its preamble sets forth that the river is

very often (especially in the winter season) soe great that there is no passage for man or horse, and many attempting at such times to passe have been drouned, and almost daylie some persons are there putt in danger of their lives, and have their loades and carriages drowned and lost, and that the said ford is of late years so worne and groune so rocky that in short time it is thought will become altogether impassable, being almost impossible to be amended by the charge and labour of man.

Voluntary contributions had been made in aid of a bridge, and the Court made an order levying a tax of two-fifteenths on the Hundred of Blackburn towards building a stone bridge.

Additional bridges were no doubt a necessity on account of the rapidly increasing trade of the county. The Act of Parliament of 33 Henry VIII., as to sanctuary, sets forth that many strangers from Ireland and elsewhere resorted to Manchester with linen yarn, wools, and other necessary wares for making of cloths, and others resorted to the town with a great number of cottons to be sold to the inhabitants for dressing and "frising." Again, in 1641 we are told that the men of Manchester bought linen yarn from the Irish in great quantity, and, weaving it, returned the same again into Ireland to sell. They also bought cotton wool in London that came first from Cyprus and Smyrna, and at home worked it and perfected it into fustians, dimities, and other such stuffs, and then returned it to London. All this, of course, meant a considerable traffic for the

roads. Again, in the House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Smithells and Gawthorpe, which have been published by the Chetham Society, we are able to see to how considerable an extent the keeping up of a single country house contributed to road traffic. We find numerous entries showing how articles are fetched from various Lancashire towns, as well as from Halifax, York, and Chester, and occasionally from London, and from the great annual fair at Stourbridge, near Cambridge. Now and then a physician is fetched on horseback from Chester; a servant is sent to Wrexham for hops, halting for the night at Warrington or Frodsham; and once a messenger goes to Formby, on the coast, with three horses to bring two barrels of herrings.

During the civil wars of the seventeenth century the bridges no doubt suffered through military operations. Thus the Milne Bridge at Manchester, and two other bridges near to it, were taken down early in the war by command of the officers for the Parliament for the safety of the garrison,

> wch bridge lyeinge for a longe tyme after soe broken downe as aforesaid the inhabitants of the parts adjacent to Manchr that formerly had passage over the said bridge to ye church and market att Manchr were debarred of the same to their greate losse and prejudice.

So much we learn from an order of the Committee for Sequestrations made in 1649, under which the High Sheriff was repaid £22 disbursed by him in repairing the bridges. And later on, in 1670, an Act of Parliament empowered the Justices of Lancashire and Cheshire during the next ten years to build new bridges, and repair and rebuild such as were demolished in the late war.

In the marchings and counter-marchings during the war we naturally find the bridges and river passages watched and guarded, and, when possible, made use of. Thus we find the Parliamentary commander erecting a strong "sconce" or fort upon the marsh near Preston

to command the fords over the Ribble. This did not, however, prevent the Royalist forces from marching over "Ribble Watter" at Hesketh Banks into the Fylde, and afterwards over "Wyre Watter." Soon after they returned, crossing the Ribble at Warton, and finding they "durst not abide in the county," marched over "Liverpool Watter" at Hale ford into Cheshire. The Mersey is not at the present time fordable at all at Hale, where the river is of considerable width, but we find the ford used again and again during the war. Prince Rupert, fresh from his victory at Bolton, marched his forces across, and, according to a contemporary report, took his prisoners along with him,

when it was too deep almost for horses to goe. They must wade over either in their cloathes or putting them off carry them upon their neckes. (It was supposed they intended to drown them.) And this was remarkable. There was an ould man, a prisoner, conceiting their intention to be so hard-harted and cruell towardes them, encouraged his fealowes, exhorting them to be of good chere, and feare not though they thinke to drowne us—yet they must not. God is stronger than the Devill. Now the prisoners had special care one of another, keeping close together to support one another if any were weak and in danger, in the watter, so that through God's power they all got through with less danger than the Horsemen.

After the defeat at Marston Moor, Rupert again made for Hale ford on his way to Chester. On this occasion he entered the county at Hornby, and as he is not mentioned to have passed through Lancaster or Preston, it is likely that he came down the Ribble Valley, avoiding the towns.

Another Royalist force had a narrow escape at the crossing of the Ribble estuary. Trying to avoid the enemy, they arrived at Freckleton at a time when the tide did not allow of their crossing. The Parliamentary commander (Sir John Meldrum) was, however, delayed, and arrived in time to see them marching over "Ribble Watter" when it was very deep. Some of them, being Westmorland and Cumberland men, afterwards tried to

steal back, to prevent which the Fylde countrymen guarded the passage night and day when the tide was "forth," and some, it is recorded, "got good prizes by it."

When the Scots under the Duke of Hamilton invaded England in 1648, they came south by Kirkby Lonsdale, Hornby, and the Lune Valley, which is to be noted as the route shown in the Bodleian map of *c.* 1300, and not by Shap Fells and Kendal, as shown in later road-books. They made for Preston, Cromwell meanwhile advancing in hot haste from Yorkshire by Skipton and Gisburn and over the old Hodder Bridge, the picturesque ruins of which remain to this day. Here a council of war was held, and next day

> Darwen's stream with blood of Scots imbrued,

testified to the soundness of its decisions and the effectiveness with which they were carried out. The pursuit to Wigan was, wrote Cromwell, over "twelve miles of such ground as I never rode in all my life, the day being very wet." It was continued along the old road by Winwick to Warrington Bridge, where the Scots surrendered, terms being given them, "considering," says Cromwell, "the strength of the pass, and that I could not go over the river within ten miles of Warrington with the army."

The same road from the north was followed by the Pretender's army in 1715 as far as Preston, and again in 1745, when the Young Pretender got beyond that town, but made for Manchester instead of Warrington. To retard his advance the bridges at Warrington, Crosford, and Barton were partially destroyed, and on arrival at Manchester we find his officers repairing Crosford Bridge and looking up guides for the fords at Barlow and Cheadle.

The great highway between South Lancashire and Yorkshire went over Blackstone Edge, a lofty moorland, which seems to have had many terrors, especially for

south-country folk. A traveller in 1639, who had set out from Halifax, says:

I rode over such ways as are past comparison or amending, for when I went down the lofty mountain called Blackstone Edge I thought myself, with my boy and horses, had been in the land of Breakneck, it was so steep and tedious, yet I recovered, twelve miles to Rochdale, and then I found smooth way to Manchester.

The natives, of course, thought little of it, for half a century earlier we find the Smithells' servants making frequent journeys to Halifax without remark. Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary, on a June day in 1682 seems to have enjoyed it, for he says, "Upon the height of the Blackstone Edge we left Yorkshire, and had a pleasant prospect of Lancashire." He was then twenty-four years of age. Sixteen years afterwards, in early February, he expressed a different view. He says:

I took a journey into Lancashire, but found no prospect of business answering to the trouble and hazard in passing Blackstone Edge, where we had a sore storm on the height of it, when it was fair sunshine on both sides, but we found the snow so drifted that in some of the lanes it was as high as man and horse. In other places so thin spread that it seemed barely to cover the ice, so that upon the slanting side of the hill my horse, in a moment's time, lost all his feet and fell upon my left leg.

Celia Fiennes, the daughter of the Parliamentary Colonel, Nathaniel Fiennes, who has left an interesting diary, published some years ago, in describing her journey from Elland, in Yorkshire, about 1697, says:

Then I came to Blackstone Edge, noted all over England for dismal high precipices, and steep in the ascent and descent on either end; it's a very moorish ground all about, and even just at the top, though so high that you travel on a causey, which is very troublesome, as it's a moist ground, so as is usual on those high hills.

Again, the writer (whether it be Defoe or not) of the *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, first published in 1724, gives a fearsome account of his journey in the month of August, when he encountered both snow and thunder. He speaks of the consternation of himself and his companions, of the frightful precipice on one

hand and uneven ground on the other, and of the unanimous decision to return to Rochdale, when one of the servants pointed out what he called a plain way, but which they pronounced a very frightful one, narrow and deep, with a hollow precipice on the right. Mountaineers of our day will smile at the timidity of these southerners, but will remember that the modern delight in mountain walks is a recent growth, which two centuries ago would have been incomprehensible. Then, too, as now, appreciation, or the lack of it, depended very much on the prevailing climatic conditions. We have already seen how differently Thoresby regarded Blackstone Edge on two different occasions. And, at a later period, we find John Wesley writing at one time of his clambering over "the horrid mountains" between Rochdale and Todmorden; and, at another, of "a delightful ride through the mountains" between Colne and Todmorden.

Allusion was made just now to travelling on a "causey." The causey, or causeway, was a narrow way two to four feet in width, paved with round pebbles, intended for horsemen and pedestrians only. It was guarded by posts at a proper distance to keep carts off it, the open part of the road being generally impassable in the winter from mire and deep ruts. This system seems to have been peculiar to Lancashire, for Defoe, when approaching Wigan, says:

> We are now in a country where the roads are paved with small pebbles, so that we both walk and ride upon this pavement, which is generally about a yard and a half broad. But the middle road, where carriages are obliged to go, is very bad.

It can easily be understood that the meeting of traffic on such a road would put a strain on the good nature of whichever party had to give way to the other. Now and then attempts at reform were made. In 1688, at the Quarter Sessions held at Ormskirk, it was ordered

that all the King's highways in each parish of the Hundred of West Derby should forthwith be put

in perfect and good repair that they may be made soe wide, soe smoothed from little hills, little rocks, hollows and slods that all coaches, carts and carriages may safely in all places, going by the calsey, meet and passe each other and that all calseys be made of the full breadth of one yard and a quarter of round stones and not of flags.

All overseers of the highways were required to see this order duly and fully executed. Whether or not they actually did so is extremely problematical.

Nine or ten years later some of these highways were travelled by Celia Fiennes, already mentioned. She had been crossing the sands of Dee from Hawarden, and then the peninsula of Wirral, till she found herself on the banks of the Mersey. She says:

This I ferried over, and was an hour and a half in the passage. It's of great breadth, and at low water is so deep and salt as the sea almost, though it does not cast so green a hue on the water as the sea, but else the waves toss and the rocks grate all round it, and is as dangerous as the sea. It's a sort of Hoy that I ferried over and my horses. The boats would have held 100 people.

She does not allude to a circumstance mentioned by a writer some thirty or forty years later, viz., that

when people land on the Liverpool side they are carried through the water a little way on the shoulders of men who wade knee deep in the mud to take them out of the boats.

Leaving Liverpool, she takes to the West Derby highways.

Thence to Prescote, seven very long miles, but pretty good way, mostly lanes. Thence to Wigan, seven miles more, mostly in lanes, and some hollow ways, and some pretty deep stony way, so forced us upon the high causey, but some of the way was good, which I went pretty fast, and yet by reason of the tediousness for miles for length I was five hours going that fourteen miles. I could have gone thirty miles about London in the time.

Thence she went next day to Preston, of which she wrote:

Preston is reckoned but twelve miles from Wigan, but they exceed in length by far those that I thought long the day before from Liverpool; it

is true to avoid the many meres and marshy places it was a great compass I took and passed down and up very steep hills and this way was good gravel way; but passing by many very large arches that were only single but as large as two great gateways, and the water I went through that ran under them was so shallow, I enquired the meaning, and was informed that on great rains those brooks could be swelled to so great a height that unless those arches were so high, no passing while it were so.

They are but narrow bridges, for foot or horse, and at such floods they are forced in many places to boat it, until they come to those arches on the great bridges which are across these great rivers. I passed by at least half a dozen of those high single arches, besides several great stone bridges of four or six arches, which are very high also, over their greatest rivers. I was about four hours going those twelve miles, and could have gone twenty in the time in most countries—nay, by the people of these parts, this twelve is as long, and as much time taken up in going it, as to go from thence to Lancaster, which is twenty miles—and I can confirm this by my own experience, for I went to Gascoyne [Garstang], which is ten miles, and half way to Lancaster in two hours.

Thence to Lancaster town, ten miles more, which I easily reached in two hours and a half or three hours. I passed through abundance of villages, almost at the end of every mile, mostly all along lanes, being an enclosed country.

Her next allusion shows that in one respect at least Lancashire was ahead of the rest of the country.

They have one good thing in most parts of this principality or county palatine it's rather called, that at all cross ways there are posts with hands pointing to each road with the names of the great town or market town that it leads to, which does make up for the length of the miles, that strangers may not lose their road and have it to go back again.

This comes as a reminder to us that finger-posts have not existed from time immemorial. The Act of Parliament which required them to be set up was only passed in 1697, and this journey, though not precisely dated, must have been very soon afterwards.

In 1704 we find Bishop Nicolson travelling over this same road in the opposite direction. He rode on an October day from Kendal by Levens and Lancaster to Garstang, twenty-six miles in the day. Garstang to Preston he describes as ten short miles; but Preston to Chorley, six miles, as long in riding as the other ten. This was an alternative road to Wigan.

A letter written by Sir Thomas Lowther in 1730 gives a vivid picture of the inconvenience and danger of travelling by this road at that period. He is giving directions to his steward as to the escort of a party to London by coach—of course, a private coach. He writes:

> I would have John Dean to go all the way from Holker to London a little before the coach to observe if there be any dangerous places, and then to walk by the coach for fear of an overturn; and there is always men in Preston or Walton hired to go each side of the coach through the bad ways in Lancashire.

Any readers who are intimately acquainted with the distances by road between the Lancashire towns which have been named, may have noticed that the figures given in the accounts quoted are not strictly correct. They were what were known as "computed distances," a customary standard which everybody knew was inaccurate, but conformed to none the less. Ogilby, in his *Survey of the Roads*, published in 1675, although he gave measured miles, was constrained to give side by side with them the computed distances. Thus the twelve miles from Wigan to Preston which Celia Fiennes found so long, and which even by computation should be fourteen, he makes to be sixteen miles four furlongs. And a writer of 1763 speaks of the computed distances as being nothing better than the effect of wild and random imagination, as six such miles are seven or eight in one place, in another nine or ten. In the whole journey from London to Carlisle, Ogilby makes "the vulgar computation" 235 miles, and "the dimensuration" 301 miles 2 furlongs, the difference being so much as 66¼ miles.

In the notes of a journey from Oxford to Edinburgh in 1737 by Dr. Holmes, President of St. John's College, and Mr. George Quatermaine, both measured and computed miles are given. They "laid" on successive nights at Warrington, Preston, Lancaster, and Kendal, the computed travel of the three days being 20, 20, and

16 miles respectively, and the measured, 25, 22, and 20. Even the latter seem to err on the side of scantiness. Well might Celia Fiennes complain of "long" miles!

John Wesley was so constant a traveller in all parts of the kingdom that his *Journal* could not fail to give us some insight into the conditions of travel during the long period which it covers. In the first place, one is struck by the great distances which he accomplishes in the day, and often on successive days, even in Lancashire. Thus he records without comment a ride from Chipping, near Preston, to Ambleside in April, 1747; and, five years later, from Chipping to Whitehaven in two days. In 1759 he rode from Lower Darwen to a few miles beyond Kendal. His journeys were, of course, mostly on horseback, and, travelling thus, he would be able to avail himself of roads which might not have been fit for wheeled vehicles. From no mention being made of Preston on the way, and from his routes to the north taking in Ribchester and Chipping, it seems likely that he used the old Roman road, which ran north-westwardly from Manchester over Affeside Moor to Lancaster, a road which went out of use as a through route soon after his time, and which, from the absence of wheeled traffic, may have been more convenient for horsemen. Sometimes he is persuaded to get into a chaise, but he does not seem at home in it, and it is on these occasions that he records accidents. In July, 1769, he had ridden from Chester to Manchester. He writes:

> As we were pretty well tired, our friends there insisted on my going on in a chaise. So in the morning, Saturday, 29th, we set out. When we were on the brow of the hill above Ripponden, suddenly the saddle horse fell, with the driver under him, and both lay without motion. The shaft horse then boggled and turned short toward the edge of the precipice; but presently the driver and horse rose up unhurt and we went on safe to Leeds.

Again, in April, 1762, he set out from Liverpool for Wigan.

But before we came to Ashton I was glad to use my own feet, and leave the poor horses to drag the chaise as they could.

Four years later, however, he records, with some apparent pride, a journey commencing at Colne.

I set out early, and the next afternoon reached Whitehaven; and my chaise-horses were no worse for travelling 110 miles in two days.

It is noticeable that he spent the time on horseback in reading; again and again he mentions having read certain books on the way. It was after a long journey, ending at Manchester, that he made this remark:

Near thirty years ago I was thinking, "How is it that no horse ever stumbles while I am reading?" (History, poetry, and philosophy I commonly read on horseback, having other employment at other times.) No account can possibly be given but this, because then I throw the reins on his neck. I then set myself to observe; and I aver that in riding above a hundred thousand miles I scarce ever remember any horse except two (that would fall head over heels any way) to fall or make a considerable stumble, while I rode with a slack rein.

Occasionally, though not very often, he records a bad road. Thus in 1781, on his way from Bolton to Blackburn, he was desired to take "Kabb" on his way, "but such a road sure no carriage ever went before! I was glad to quit it and use my own feet." In 1788 he found a succession of bad roads, in a season, it is true, of continuous rain. From Bolton he went on "through miserable roads" to Blackburn. The next day he becomes sarcastic. "Through equally good roads we got on to Paddiham. From hence we went in the afternoon through still more wonderful roads to Haslingden. They were sufficient to lame any horses and shake any carriage in pieces. N.B.—I will never attempt to travel these roads again till they are effectually mended!" Next day he writes: "We hobbled on to Bury through roads equally deplorable."

Wesley's account of his crossing of the Morecambe sands is interesting as a revelation at once of the impediments put in the way of travellers and of his own indomitable character—the character of the man of business who refuses to be impeded and chafes at

every delay. It is in May, 1759. He has travelled from Bolton, preaching on the way at Lower Darwen. Reaching Lancaster, he is informed it is too late to cross the sands. But he is resolved to make the trial. He passes the seven-mile sand without difficulty, and reaches Flookborough about sunset. Next morning he sets out early, and crosses the Leven and Duddon sands without either guide or difficulty. At Bootle he is informed he cannot pass at Ravenglass before one or two o'clock, whereas, as he afterwards finds, he might have passed immediately. About eleven o'clock he is directed to a ford which they say he may cross at noon. When he comes there they tell him he cannot cross, so he sits still till about one o'clock, and then finds he could have crossed at noon. However, he reached Whitehaven before night. He adds:

> But I have taken my leave of the sand road. I believe it is ten measured miles shorter than the other, but there are four sands to pass, so far from each other that it is scarce possible to pass them all in a day; especially as you have all the way to do with a generation of liars, who detain all strangers as long as they can, either for their own gain or their neighbours'. I can advise no stranger to go this way; he may go round by Kendal and Keswick often in less time, always with less expense, and far less trial of his patience.

Wesley seems to have adhered to his determination, for his subsequent journeys to Whitehaven were by way of Ambleside.

Another divine, Bishop Nicolson, who crossed these sands many years previously, viz., in July, 1684, has left a much more laconic record: "Over ye three sands to Bootle" [from Lancaster] "a long Sabbath day's journey." This is all that his diary records, and it speaks of an uneventful passage, the chief thing noticeable being the length.

On the whole, we may come to the conclusion that the Lancashire roads down to this period were not unsuitable for travelling on horseback, and that such travelling was tolerably fast. Nor were they unsuited to the cavalcades of packhorses by which goods were

carried from place to place, the leader carrying a bell to notify their approach to other travellers as yet unseen. On the bridle-roads which these cavalcades would chiefly affect, carriages would be unknown, and it would only be when their course lay along a carriage road that there would be any serious trouble. Then they might be compelled to leave the causey on meeting a cavalcade travelling in the opposite direction; and, in the then state of the carriage-way, we can imagine the floundering of a loaded animal before it got free from the mud and back again on the firm causey. It was really the growth of wheeled traffic which had such a deplorable effect on the great roads. And once out of repair, the system then in vogue of throwing the cost of their repair upon the locality, militated against anything effectual being done, for a sparsely-populated country parish was not likely to be eager to spend money in keeping in order its portion of a main-road used chiefly for the benefit of the large towns on either side. The duty, indeed, was often quite beyond its power.

The remedy which was devised—the system of turnpikes—was an attempt to throw the burden of repair on the shoulders of those who actually used the road, by charging toll, collected from them at the turnpikes or toll-bars which were set up at intervals along the road. To authorise this an Act of Parliament was necessary, and as at the beginning it was thought the system would be only temporary, no general Act was passed, but application was made for a special Act for each road for a limited term of years, usually twenty-one. The expiration of the term usually found the trustees unable to pay off the loans they had contracted on security of the tolls, and so a further Act was obtained prolonging the term, and this was repeated until, in our own time, the turnpikes came to an end after an existence of nearly two centuries. The system had made some headway in the south and Midlands before it reached Lancashire, and the author of the *Tour Through the*

Whole Island of Great Britain is enthusiastic about the effect the turnpikes had already had upon trade, the cost of carriage of goods being abated, notwithstanding that the carriers had to bear the toll. More weight could be brought with the same number of horses, and that with less fatigue; and all kinds of travellers found increased safety and ease.

LANCASHIRE IN PRE-TURNPIKE TIMES.

The first road in Lancashire to be turnpiked was that from Sherbrook Hill, near Buxton and Chapel-en-le-Frith, to Manchester, and of it only the last six miles, from Stockport, lay within the county. It is described in the Act passed in 1724 as "the nearest road from London to Manchester." Next came, in 1725, an Act applying to the road from Liverpool to Prescot; and

in the following year two Acts, one relating to the roads from Wigan to Preston, and the other to that from Warrington to Wigan. The roads leading eastwards from Manchester, through Ashton and Oldham respectively, were dealt with in 1732 and 1735, and in the latter year an Act was also passed "for repairing and widening the road from the town of Rochdale . . . leading over a certain craggy mountain called Blackstone Edge . . . and from thence to the towns of Halifax and Ealand . . ." In 1745 an Act dealt with the road from Prescot to St. Helens, and in 1749 another with that from Ardwick Green to Wilmslow, in Cheshire. Thus down to the middle of the eighteenth century the system had been applied in Lancashire only to a very limited extent, practically only to that section of the highway to the north which lay between Warrington and Preston, and to certain short lengths in the neighbourhood of Liverpool and Manchester. And even here it could hardly be called a success, for it was precisely to that section of the northern highway that Arthur Young, in 1771, devoted his choicest epithets. He writes:

I know not in the whole range of language terms sufficiently expressive to describe this infernal road. To look on a map, and perceive that it is a principal one, not only to some towns, but even whole counties, one would naturally conclude it to be at least decent; but let me most seriously caution all travellers who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible country to avoid it as they would the devil, for a thousand to one but they break their necks or their limbs by overthrows or breaking down. They will here meet with rutts which I actually measured four feet deep, and floating with mud only from a wet summer. What, therefore, must it be after a winter? The only mending it receives is the tumbling in some loose stones, which serve no other purpose but jolting a carriage in the most intolerable manner. These are not merely opinions but facts, for I actually passed three carts broken down in these eighteen miles of execrable memory.

So much of the road from Preston to Wigan. Onwards to Warrington was not much better. He writes:

This is a paved road and most infamously bad. Any person would imagine the people of the county had made it with a view to immediate destruction, for the breadth is only sufficient for one carriage, consequently

it is cut at once into rutts, and you will easily conceive what a breakdown, dislocating road rutts cut through a pavement must be. The pretence of wanting materials is but a mere pretence, for I remarked several quarries of rock sufficient to make miles of excellent road. If they will pave, the breadth ought to be such as to admit several carriages abreast, as the inevitable consequence must be the immediate cutting up. Tolls had better be doubled and even quadrupled than suffer such a nuisance to remain.

If this was the state of the main highways, what of the country roads at the time? Here and there we get a glimpse of their condition. At Leigh we hear of the vilest roads, a foot deep in mud, with ruts and holes in which a sheep might be hidden. The cart between Droylesden and Manchester had to be drawn by four horses lengthwise. Occasionally one wheel was driven along the ditch, this being preferable to the highway from possessing a firmer bottom! Sometimes while passing through the ruts the cart-wheels sunk up to the axletrees, and the bottom of the cart "hurred"—*i.e.*, grated on the pathway between. The Clayton folks used to repair their length now and then by filling the ruts with brushwood, and then pulling the sides on the top of it.

With the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century there was a greatly increased activity in extending the turnpike system. All at once, and in all directions, we find Acts obtained for applying the system to considerable lengths of road. From Preston northwards to the Westmorland border; from Lancaster eastwards to Richmond, and south-eastwardly to Keighley; from Manchester to Crosford Bridge; from Salford to Warrington, Bolton, Wigan, and Duxbury; from Prescot to Warrington; and St. Helens to Ashton-in-Makerfield. All these roads were the subject of Acts obtained in the first three years of the half-century, and, with the roads previously turnpiked, they completed a series of communications within the area lying between Manchester, Liverpool, and Preston. During the next few years the system was applied in the north-eastern part of the county between Preston, Blackburn,

Clitheroe, Burnley, and Colne; also to Rochdale and Bury; then to the road through Ulverston and other roads in the north; and then, year by year, to various sections, chiefly in the industrial districts in the south-eastern part of the county. The preamble of the Act is usually to the effect that the road in question is an important one, and that by reason of the nature of the soil and the many and heavy carriages passing through the same, the road is become so exceeding deep and ruinous, that in the winter season, and frequently in summer, it is very difficult and dangerous to pass through the same with waggons, carts, and other wheel-carriages, and travellers cannot pass without danger and loss of time. Sometimes the preamble goes on to allege some special local reason. For instance, the Act for the Crosford Bridge and Manchester road in 1751 adds that some part of the road lying next to Crosford Bridge is many times overflowed with water and unpassable, whereby the post is delayed, and several persons in attempting to pass through the same have lost their lives.

The extension of the system in the south-eastern part of the county was necessitated by the spread in the valleys of that district of cotton-mills, weaving-sheds, bleach-works, and dye-works. For these industries easier means of transit for their productions, and for the raw materials, coal, and other articles they required, were a vital necessity. The old method of carriage by pack-horses was no longer sufficient, and carts and waggons required better roads than those hitherto in use. If these roads could be provided, it was worth the while of the traders to pay the tolls necessary for keeping them up, and for paying the interest on the initial expense. In the making of these East Lancashire roads, John Metcalfe, the celebrated "Blind Jack of Knaresborough," took a leading part. As a contractor he undertook a considerable mileage, and, despite his blindness, carried out what he had undertaken in a

satisfactory manner. Concurrently with this turnpiking, or making of new roads, resort was at this time more frequently made in regard to the unturnpiked roads to the old common law method of enforcing repair—that of indicting the inhabitants at Quarter Sessions. Numerous convictions were obtained, the inhabitants being fined a fixed sum, which was raised by rates, paid to the prosecutor, and by him applied to the repair of the highway. Only sections of roads could be dealt with in this way, as the whole road was seldom in one parish, and each parish had to be dealt with by a separate indictment. On the whole, however, by one means or another, an appreciable improvement was effected. As the old Acts expired and came up again for renewal, the opportunity was taken to make additional improvements. The roads were in many places widened, straightened, or diverted. Here a bend was cut off, and there a steep gradient was eased.

Bridges, too, were widened and improved, and some additional ones were built, superseding dangerous fords. In 1750 an Act was obtained for the building of a bridge over the Ribble at Penwortham, "inasmuch as the fords are, by reason of the great freshes and tides which have of late years happened therein, so much worn and become so deep and founderous that His Majesty's subjects, even at low water, especially in the winter season, cannot pass the same on horseback, or with carts and carriages, without imminent danger." Ribchester bridge was rebuilt in 1769, and a new bridge on the north road near Preston was completed in 1782, superseding the old Ribble bridge, which Kuerden, nearly one hundred years before, had described as "one of the statelyest stone bridges in the North of England." Similarly, the handsome and substantial stone bridge at Lancaster, consisting of five elliptical arches of a total length of 549 feet, built at a cost of £14,000 by the county, was completed in 1788, and superseded the ancient bridge, which has since fallen into ruin.

From a drawing by Dayes. LANCASTER BRIDGE IN 1797. *Engraved by J. Walker.*

And so, little by little, the way was being prepared, or, rather—for here the usual metaphorical expression becomes absolutely literal—the *ways were* being prepared for a new method of travel, which was to have its day and then cease to be. Not until these various improvements had been carried out was it possible for the system of stage-coaches to become fully established. It is true that a coach "of sorts" ran from Preston to London as early as 1663, but it does not seem to have been continued. A traveller by it wrote that his journey was no way pleasant, and had so indisposed him that he was resolved never to ride up again in the coach. The first coach from Manchester to London was not until 1754, when it was announced that the "Flying Coach" would actually (barring accidents) arrive in London in four days and a half after leaving Manchester. Four years later the "Flying Machine" was advertised to go from London to Liverpool in three days. In 1773 the Manchester, Warrington, and Liverpool stage-coach set out from the "Spread Eagle" in Salford (in summer) on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday in every week, and returned thither on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

But it is beyond our present purpose to describe the growth and decline of stage-coaching in Lancashire. Its growth marks the end of the period we set out to review, and brings in an era wherein the leisurely travel of the individual gives place to the ordered movement of the group, and man begins to submit to the tyranny of the time-table—a tyranny increasingly felt as the railways developed. The charm of self-regulated motion—travel at one's own sweet will—has been rediscovered by some of us in these later days through the agency of the bicycle and the motor-car. But this is not for the majority, and, in any case, the conditions are now wholly changed—the past cannot be reconstituted. And, therefore, it is that for us to-day there remains some interest of an archaic kind in the means and methods of old-time travel.

SALFORD'S ANCIENT FORD

By H. T. Crofton

ETYMOLOGY tells us that the town of Salford took its name from a ford, but the ford has long since ceased to exist, and at some distant date a bridge superseded it.

There was a bridge between Manchester and Salford so far back as 1226, when a rent of twelve pence was paid for "a toft in Salford by the bridge" (*Lancashire Inquisitions*, Record Society, p. 138). This was prior to 1230, about which date Salford received its first charter, and three-quarters of a century before the first charter was granted to Manchester. The thirteenth century was one of considerable progress in the two towns.

Probably this bridge of seven hundred years ago was of wood, and it would be very liable to injury from floods.

In 1368 Thomas del Bothe, by his will, left thirty pounds for "the bridge at Salford," and as he directed the legacy to be paid by three yearly instalments, it is conjectured that the first stone bridge was being built at that time. This conjecture is supported by the style of the bridge, which experts assign to the middle of the fourteenth century.

Like most ancient bridges, it was very narrow. Its width over all was only thirteen or fourteen feet, and when allowance is made for protecting walls at each side, the roadway cannot have been more than twelve feet wide. This bridge had pointed arches, and angular recesses were provided in the side walls for the safety of foot-passengers.

On the northern side upon one of the piers a small two-storeyed chapel was built, with its lower storey resting on the pier-head and the upper storey level with the roadway, thus resembling the chapel on the old London Bridge and the celebrated bridge over the Rhone at Avignon.

Just before the Reformation, Leland recorded, in the time of Henry VIII., that "there be divers stone bridges in the towne [of Manchester], but the best of iij arches is over Irwel. This bridge dividith Manchestre from Salford. On this bridg is a praty litle chapel."

The antiquarian saddler, Barritt, composed, from tradition and recollection, a view of the bridge as it appeared from 1730 to 1779.

From 1505 the chapel or its lower storey was used as a dungeon, and the prisoners in it had anxious moments when the river was in flood. Hollingworth records that in 1616 "there was an extraordinary great flood, and men stood upon Salford Bridge and ladled up water with a little piggin," or can.

About 1730 the bridge was widened on the south side, and in 1779 on the north side, at which date the dungeon or chapel was demolished. The final appearance of the bridge from beneath is given in a view by Ralston in the twenty-first volume of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, and displays the successive widenings.

The present Victoria Bridge was begun in 1837, and was opened in 1839, and approximately occupies the site of the old bridge.

Within the last hundred years such radical changes have been made hereabouts on both sides of the river, that without the help of old views and plans it is impossible to picture what was the river's original appearance.

We have, however, an admirable word-picture made

about a century ago, and preserved in the volume of *Manchester Collectanea* in the Chetham Society's series. It runs thus:

From the building adjoining the Ring o' Bells public-house, opposite the steeple of the collegiate church, was an unsightly piece of ground, shelving down from the churchyard to the river. This was called "Tin Brow." It was a favourite place down which to shoot rubbish, and even human bones from the adjacent churchyard. A cabinetmaker, who lived in one of the cottages which overhung the river, frequently at night threw baited lines into the river under his yard wall, and in the morning obtained a supply of eels sufficient for his family's dinner. Salford Whitsuntide Fair was held on the Salford side of the river, between the mill of Messrs. Collier & Co. and the bridge, on the low ground called Stanyhurst. This was the point of embarkation for the pleasure trips on the river. A good-sized boat was provided, with a windlass at its bow, and the rope attached to it at one end had its other fastened to a stake driven into the ground at the corner of Waterworth's Field [which lay in the angle formed by the junction of the Irk with the Irwell], on the other side of the river, near Hunt's Bank Bridge [which spanned the Irk]. With its laughter-loving freight the vessel started up the river, the rope being wound up by the windlass, till the boat reached its destination near the mouth of the Irk. This boat would hold some scores of passengers, who regarded this as a very pleasant and romantic trip. All this, with a band of music, for the small charge of one penny.

The Manchester bank had then a very different appearance. The red sandstone rock projected here and there, and the public-houses and cottages seemed perilously perched on the rock, so as to overhang the river at a considerable height above the water, while above all towered the venerable steeple of the collegiate church.

Tin Brow, so graphically described above, forms the first link in the chain of evidence for locating the ancient ford. It formed the northern side of a recess or cleft in the red-sandstone bluff which lined the Manchester side of the river, and down this cleft, before sewers were constructed, the stream called "Hanging Ditch" found its outlet to the river.

This stream was formed by the rainfall on the high ground called Shude Hill, and tributaries from the Market Street direction joined it down the streets called Smithy Door and Deansgate.

Ogden in his *Description of Manchester*, 1783, says, at page 63:

> In lowering the drains along the middle of Hanging Ditch the workmen found, under the old drain, a bed of water gravel, into which they sank, finding a horse-shoe in the gravel, which was a plain indication that [formerly] the highroad lay through the channel where the water then ran, constituting what is generally called a Wash-way.

It was down this water-worn cleft that the inhabitants of Manchester formerly made their way to the river and ford, and it was from the southern shoulder of the cleft that the bridges were thrown across the river.

Just as Tin Brow was misused, so the whole of this sloping cleft was formerly utilised for the deposit of all kinds of filth, to be swept down to the river by floods.

After the bridge was provided the ford gradually fell into disuse, but the inhabitants still resorted to the water-edge to procure water and to empty rubbish, and for their convenience, and in perpetuation of their ancient right of way, a long flight of stone steps, partly cut in the natural rock, was provided down the southern shoulder of the cleft. They started a little way back from the end of the bridge, alongside a building which was at one time a public-house called "The Bear and Dog."

A lurid light on this state of things is gathered from the Manchester Court Leet Records (spelling modernised).

> 1563, April. Hereafter no one shall put forth or lay any dung at the near end of Salford bridge, which shall or may happen to be noisome to the gate [road or way], or greses [stairs] there, and also they that occupy the said midden shall keep the greses there clean from time to time, or be fined sixpence weekly in default; also no manner Jaks [privy refuse] shall be cast down at Hanging Bridge, nor at Salford Bridge, except it be into the water there, at after, or before the times before appointed. [NOTE.—"At after" is still a Lancashire expression for "after."]
>
> 1574, Sept. Richard Galley, or whosoever for him doth occupy, or hath right to, the dunghill at the end of Salford Bridge, shall make clean

the stairs going down to the water, betwixt this and Saturday come sevennight, and afterwards keep the same dunghill so that the same do not defile or annoy the stairs from time to time, under a penalty every time iijs. iiijd.

1619, Oct. Whereas the stairs at Salford Bridge end, leading to the water, are in decay, they shall be repaired by the constables upon the town's charges.

1621, Oct. Upon view made for the repair of one pair of stairs at the hither end of Salford Bridge, leading from one messuage now in the occupation of Edward Cheetham to the river Irwell, the Miselayers are to be overseers of the work and see the same repaired, as also one watercourse in the Hanging Ditch, commonly called the Common Shore [sewer] or "through," for the water to pass to the main river.

1631, April. The stairs at the end of Salford Bridge are much defiled in the night time, we therefore order that Edward Cheetham shall shut [the door], or cause the same to be shut, at nine of the clock in the evening, and opened at six of the clock in the morning; Always provided that Edward may deliver the key thereof to such persons as at other times have any just occasion to go down the stairs, and that Edward shall not hereby make any claim to the stairs, but that they are for the benefit of the whole town.

1657, Oct. Katherine Powell, or any person who doth or shall live in the late house of Edward Cheetham, at the sign of the Bear and Dog, at Salford Bridge End, shall constantly make and keep clean the stone stairs at the bridge end going down to Irkwell or Salford Water; and that a door be set at the head of the stairs, with a lock and key, which door shall be kept locked in the night and set open in the morning by the occupants of the said house.

1660, Oct. The stairs at the end of Salford Bridge, leading down to the river Irwell, are out of repair, and the dung and muck cast thereupon or near thereunto, is disposed of and made use of by persons who have no right thereunto. The Constables shall take care for the repairing, and the dung, muck, or manure there found shall be by them sold for the repair.

The Manchester Constables' Accounts contain many entries of payments between 1746 and 1775 for sweeping these steps. The payment in January, 1769, was for "cleansing the steps at Salford Bridge, they being the property of the Town, for the use of fetching water from the river."

Before quitting the Manchester side of the river, a glance at Green's map will show "Old Bridge Street," which was formerly called "Smithy Bank," rising from

SALFORD FORD.

the bridge to Cateaton Street, and will also show the winding gap between the buildings on the north side down which the stairs led to the river. About seventy yards back from the river was the street called "Hanging Bridge," below the level of which there was discovered a few years ago the mediæval bridge from which it took its name, spanning the deep-sunk stream which gave its name to the thoroughfare called Hanging Ditch.

The Hanging Bridge is conjectured to have been built at the same time that the old parish church was collegiated—that is, about 1420; but the earliest record of it is in the Mamecestre Barony Rental of 1473.

The map also shows that the line of the northern side of Cateaton Street to the east of Hanging Bridge was uniform, but to the west between that point and the river it was deflected south-westwardly to the bridge. This is a significant indication of the state of things before there was any bridge at all over the river, when the line of Cateaton Street ran forward to the ford which is the object of our quest, and of which the point of access on the Manchester side is thus fixed some thirty yards north of the bridge.

An endeavour may now be made to fix the outlet of the ford on the Salford side, and on looking at Green's map one is at once met by the fact that the two main streets, Chapel Street and Greengate, did not converge to the bridge,[1] but met at a point forty yards further north, where there was a broad gap left in the line of buildings, and through this gap ran a wedge-shaped access to the river. These facts clearly show that the bridge and the access to it were innovations on a previous state of things, and that Salford's two main roads were originally directed to the ford and not to the bridge. As already remarked, when the bridge was built the ancient ford would not be absolutely abolished, but

1 This is very plain in the well-known map of Manchester and Salford made about 1650.

would gradually fall into disuse, and the way to it remained available for various purposes, such as procuring water, sand and gravel. This is evidenced by the following entries in the Salford Portmote Records (spelling modernised).

1625, Oct. The way going down [by Stanyhurst] to the water being [decayed] must be repaired by those who ought to repair it.

1629, Oct. William Chourton [whose house stood in the angle formed by Greengate and Chapel Street] presented for not cleansing the ditch, betwixt the wall and the gate [roadway] that leadeth down to the water.

1634, Oct. Richard Thorpe [whose house in Chapel Street faced Greengate] to repair the way unto the water according to an ancient order, and the Borough were to take the jury of the greater part and view the place which, in a finding of the Court in 1591, was described as "the Queen's [Elizabeth's] waste betwixt the lands of Mr. Prestwich and the highway leading unto Irwell, by estimation in breadth nine yards, and from the High Street [*i.e.*, Chapel Street] into the backside [to the river side] in length by estimation fifty yards." [This tallies with the wedge-shaped lane or approach to the ford.]

1648, Oct. The constables to lay a rate for the repair of several decays . . . in the way going down by the pump to the river. [The pump was at the corner of Greengate and Chapel Street.]

The Salford Highway Surveyors' books contain other entries relating to this ford-roadway, which was called "Stanearst" by Green, but was more generally known as Stanyhurst or Stannaries, in evident allusion to the gravelly deposits there, which lay both above and below the bridge, and extended back to "Gravel Lane." Barritt's view of the bridge shows the deposits very distinctly. The surveyors' books continue:—

1738. The causeway down to the water was repaired.

1778, May. A town's meeting held about a nuisance caused by a gate and stoops, on the road to the Stoneyard [Stan-yard or Stannary] near the river. [On Laurent's map published in 1793 the stumps seem to be indicated.] John Taylor, of Crumpsal, was ordered by a justice of assize [at Lancaster Assizes] in 1778 to make or leave a carriage road over the Stannaries [Stanyhurst], through the little arch of Salford Bridge. [The bridge sloped sharply towards Salford, and the smallest arch was on the Salford side of the river.]

1790. A list of prices was fixed by the Surveyor to be charged per load of sand taken from Stanihurst.

1788 to 1830. Receipts from Stainhurst (*sic*), for gravel and sand.

About 1834 stone steps (which were provided when the bridge was widened in 1779) still led from the up-stream side of the bridge down to a large low-lying plot of ground there, knee-deep in river sand, called the Stanihurst, and a public way called the Piazza, above which was built the Wool Market, crossed the Stanneries into the short lane, which turned at a sharp angle, like an elbow, and came into Chapel Street opposite the end of Greengate.[1]

These records clearly show that the public still insisted on a right of way from the corner of Chapel Street and Greengate down to the river, and along the river bank down stream to and under the bridge. They indicate further that this ford did not cross the river in a straight line from its entry on the Manchester side to its exit into Greengate on the Salford side.

On looking at Green's map, the reason for this will be perceived. About seventy yards above the bridge the river was considerably narrowed. The waterway was only twenty-five yards wide at this "bottle-neck," and in times of flood, especially when the river overflowed its Strangeways or left bank above the junction with the Irk, there would be an explosive outpouring of a great weight of water through this narrow neck. The right and left shoulders would deflect the current into the middle, and a more or less deep pool would be scoured out just below the neck, and the excavated materials would be heaped into a shoal where the bridge stands, while side shoals would accumulate behind each shoulder in the backwaters.

It would thus be impossible to cross the river in a direct line, but it would be easy to do so by following the side shoals down stream to the central shoal. The

[1] *Manchester City News N. and Q.*, vol. v., pp. 307, 314.

ford thus had the form of a horseshoe, and the bridge builders found it easier to first sink their wooden piles, and, later, to build their stone piers, on the central shoal than to throw a single-span bridge across the narrow neck, where the approaches would not have been so simple to construct.

Moreover, there is the corroborative evidence afforded by a number of views representing the neighbourhood of the old ford. The first is the sketch made about 1815 by Barritt, partly from tradition and partly from his early recollection of the appearance of the old bridge before it was widened. This sketch is, with others, in the Greaves collection in the Reference Library, Manchester. It is faulty, but full of interest. It only shows one angular recess for foot-passengers, but depicts the old chapel, which served as a dungeon. The bridge arches are pointed. Beyond the chapel, Stanyhurst is seen, with two ropemakers at work, and a postillion has driven his chaise and pair down the approach from Greengate into the river to water his horses. Below the bridge two youths are running along the Stanyhurst shore. Above the youths, standing on the raised bank, are houses, beyond which is a church tower, presumably that of Trinity Church or Chapel, which, however, really lay further to the left, and up to 1752 or thereabouts was surmounted by a spire. This misplaced tower has led many to the hasty conclusion that the view represented was from the Salford side of the river, and that the tower is that of the Manchester Collegiate Church. The true appearance, however, of the Manchester bank of the river above the bridge as it was about the year 1800 is given in another sketch by Barritt in the same collection. It shows the church tower, with a railed corner of the churchyard and "Tin Brow" below it. A house at the south-west corner of the churchyard has a door leading to four successive flights of steps, which run down to the river side and to buildings which stood

much below the level of the bridge. Those low-lying buildings, rising one behind the other, afford valuable evidence of the shelving character of the river bank at this point.

A comparison of this with Green's map finds the accuracy of this amateur sketch amply corroborated. The steps above mentioned are not those which were referred to in the Court Leet Records and Constables' Accounts. Those ancient steps were behind the low-lying buildings, and descended from the level of the bridge on the right.

Green's map shows that the frontage of the elevated buildings next to the north side of the bridge had been slightly set back in 1779 so as to be in line with the increased width of the bridge. Barritt's sketch indicates that these elevated buildings were in the style prevalent at the end of the eighteenth century.

A strip of shore, in both the map and sketch, extends from the foot of the stairs towards the bridge, and formed the old access to the shallow ford where the bridge stands.

The opposite shore at Stanyhurst is shown in the foreground of the sketch.

A much more artistic view from the same standpoint was made about 1830 by G. Pickering, and engraved by E. Finden for the first edition of Roby's *Traditions of Lancashire*, 1829, and a copy forms the frontispiece to this volume.

Mention has already been made of Ralston's view of the north side of Salford Old Bridge, showing the widenings as seen from beneath, and taken from the foot of the stairs on the Manchester side of the river. This view appears in Mr. Corbett's recently published volume on the River Irwell, and a sketch of it by Mr. G. H. Rowbotham illustrated Mr. W. Harrison's article on "Old Fords, Ferries, and Bridges" in the twelfth volume of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian

Society's series. They show the buttress-like wall on the Salford side, behind which were the steps from the bridge down to Stanyhurst, which were provided when the bridge was widened in 1779.

The quaint appearance of the crowded buildings on the Manchester side, as seen from the old bridge about 1810, is recorded in a drawing, by an unknown artist, which, till 1888, was in Mr. J. E. Bailey's collection, but is now in that of Mr. Albert Sutton.

In his book on the River Irwell, 1907, Mr. Corbett says, at pages 5 and 6:

> Standing in front of the Manchester Cathedral seventy years ago we should see, down the river, a closely packed mass of buildings of very poor quality, with narrow pathways between them, and several flights of steps partly cut in the red sandstone rock of the steep river bank, by which people carried up water from the river for various domestic purposes. On the Salford side, just above the bridge, stood the Woollen Cloth Hall, with an open colonnade (now partly walled up) fronting the river; and stone steps down to a sloping gravel bank, also approached from Chapel Street by the still existing narrow road called Stanihurst. On this sloping river bank were a number of rowing boats for hire in "Mary Ann's Boathouse." It was a common practice to drive horses down this bank to drink at the river, or to have their coach wheels washed, and in November, 1798, a gentleman's carriage was so taken by the coachman nearly at midnight, but the river was somewhat in flood, and horses, coach, and man were washed away. The man jumped on a dyer's flat and escaped.

The Stanyhurst gravel deposit below the bridge serves as foreground to a view of the old wooden Blackfriars Bridge drawn by Ralston. Several men are shown at work with spades and sieves, and the deposit is carefully protected by timbering. The rocky bank on the Manchester side below the bridge is also well shown in this view. Its lofty and rugged character was such that no vehicular approach to the water from that side was possible, as would have to be the case if Barritt's sketch of the bridge had been made from the Salford side of the river.

This interesting foreground has been sadly mutilated in the copy of the view given in Mr. Corbett's book, but another view is provided by Mr. Corbett, looking up-stream from Blackfriars Bridge, showing the rocky Manchester bank and the houses on it below the bridge, as well as the bridge itself, with its pointed arches. The artist has, however, rendered the Salford side of the river unrecognizable.

The picturesque approach to the old bridge from Chapel Street, Salford, is recorded in a sketch by Barritt, which is preserved in the Greaves collection at the Manchester Reference Library; but it does not throw light upon the ancient ford, which had been superseded by that bridge or its wooden predecessor, and the object of this article has been to elucidate the former existence of the ford alone.

For most valuable help in the preparation of this article and its embellishment, thanks are due to Mr. C. W. Sutton, of the Manchester Corporation Library, for information, and to Messrs. George Falkner & Sons for permission to make use of part of Green's map, which they reproduced in its entirety a few years ago.

LANCASHIRE LEGENDS

By Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A.

OUR forefathers, like ourselves, were shrewd, hard-headed men, who accomplished many inventions and built up the vast structure of Lancashire's commercial supremacy. "What Lancashire thinks to-day, England will think to-morrow," is no vain patriotic boast. It has been so in times past; it is true to-day. But, in spite of their shrewdness and cleverness, there is a vein of superstition in the Lancashire character, or shall we call it imagination? Our forefathers loved to tell to their children the old legends and traditions that clustered round the ancient halls of Lancashire. Ghosts and goblins, boggarts, fairies, dobs and hobs haunted the hillsides, farmhouses, and monastic ruins. The powerful imagination of Lancastrians invented all kinds of strange stories in order to account for unusual appearances, and their strong conservatism insured the lingering on of old Pagan rites and ceremonies long after more fickle folk had forgotten them. Demonology, witchcraft, and the Black Art appealed to their love of superstition, which induced them to perpetuate many old-fashioned customs that elsewhere had passed away. Lancashire presents a fruitful field for the investigation of the lovers of old legends.

The grandfather of the present writer was one of the original subscribers to the publication of Roby's famous *Traditions of Lancashire*, and in the days of my youth I used to revel in the fascinating stories told by that author. It is a shock to find in mature age

that they owed much to the vivid imagination of Roby, and that by far the greater part of the traditions is pure fiction. The late Mr. Harland aptly describes them as "romantic tales, suggested by Lancashire traditions." Three of the traditions are entirely fiction; one of them is a Cumberland legend, and has nothing to connect it with the County Palatine; and several of the traditions are so adorned and "improved" by Roby that little of the original remains.

But, in spite of this, the author's memory will ever be kept green by his delightful tales, and will be always revered by the present writer, who owes, perhaps, more than he can tell to those graphic and weird stories which delighted his mind in the days of his boyhood, and first led him to take an interest in historical and antiquarian pursuits. Traditions and legends are fast dying out, together with the old halls of Lancashire with which they were associated. It may be well, therefore, in these volumes of Memorials of the County to recall some of the most famous.

Goblin Builders

Stories of goblin builders are not confined to Lancashire, but this county is prolific in such folk-lore tales. The most remarkable legend of this class is that associated with Rochdale Church. A Saxon thane, Gamel, lord of Rochdale, was minded to build a chapel dedicated to St. Chad in a low-lying place on the north bank of the river Rache or Roche. He collected a vast store of material, timber, and stone, and laid the foundations of the intended structure. In one night the whole of the building, together with the timber and stone, were conveyed to the summit of a steep hill on the opposite side of the river. Gamel was enraged, vowed vengeance on his workmen, and ordered them to carry back the foundations and material to the original site. These were again quietly conveyed in one night

to the top of the neighbouring height; but the mysterious agents were discovered—de'il's workmen, a puck-fisted rabble, without cloak or hosen, frisking and frolicking up and down the hill, mocking and laughing like so many stark-mad fools at a May-feast, rolling the vast stones and bearing the heavy timbers to the summit of the hill. Gamel was much perturbed, but he was advised by his clergy to suffer his church to be built at the top of the hill, as evidently the goblins would not allow it to be erected at its foot. Hence the grand old church of St. Chad at Rochdale stands in an elevated position, and the poor folks of the town have to climb one hundred and twenty-four steps in order to attend the services of their parish church.

The same sort of legend is attached to the building of Burnley Church. Originally a cross stood here, where Paulinus and other early missionaries preached and converted the people to Christianity. It was soon resolved that a church should be built near the cross in Godley Lane; but the goblins again interfered, and by supernatural agency, in the form of pigs, the stones and scaffolding were conveyed to the spot where St. Peter's Church now stands. A rude sculpture of an animal on the south side of the steeple may have originated the story; at least, it lends its aid to perpetuate and confirm it. Probably the carving was intended to represent the Agnus Dei or Paschal Lamb, since rudely carved instruments of the Passion appear around it.

A similar tradition is associated with Winwick Church, on the site of which it is supposed that St. Oswald was slain in battle. The builder of the church had decided to erect it on a different site, but during the night a goblin pig was observed conveying the stones to the sacred spot where Oswald died. The founder followed this wise counsel, and continued the building of the church on the site selected by the pig, whose figure appears in sculpture on the tower.

Part of the steeple of the church of Ashton-under-Lyne was built by mysterious agency. The workmen were busily engaged playing cards instead of building, when a lady appeared, bade them turn up an ace, promising if an ace appeared she would build several yards of the steeple. The ace of spades happily disclosed itself, and the lady was as good as her word, and added several yards of good masonry, as well as a sculptured representation of the card. This tradition probably arose from the fact that Sir Thomas Assheton married a rich bride, the daughter of Ralph Stayley, and devoted some of his increased wealth to the improvement of the church and the building of the steeple. His wife, Lady Elizabeth, visiting the church, perhaps directed the workmen to fix her arms on the tower, impaled with those of her husband. An escutcheon is not unlike an ace of spades—hence the origin of the legend.

Boggart Stories

Akin to goblins are boggarts. They have given their names to houses. There is Boggart House, near Broughton Church, and another house so-named near Hindley, and Boggart Cote, near Rawtenstall. He is a merry little fellow, this boggart, or bar-gairt, first cousin to Robin Goodfellow, and a relation to the German *hobold*, the Danish *nis*, and the Scotch *brownie*. He haunts the Boggart Hole near Blakeley, and you can read in Roby's *Traditions* an account of his merry pranks in a farm-house—how he worried the men, scared the maids, and frightened the children, and when at last, tormented to desperation, the poor farmer was obliged to remove to another house, and was moving his goods, a shrill voice from a churn on the top of his waggon called out, "Ay, ay, neighbour, we're flitting." So the harassed farmer turned back to his old home, finding there was no escape from the boggart's thraldom. He is the terror

of children, and when a horse takes fright at some object unseen by his master, they say that it has "seen the boggart." The Holden Hall boggart was a terribly malevolent sprite. He appeared in the form of a great black dog, or like a rag of white linen on a thorn, eluding the grasp of mortal hands by shrivelling up. He blasted the crops, caused sickness amongst cattle and all manner of weird noises, until at length he was "laid" by a priest, with book and bell, under Noggarth Cross, and has never been troublesome since. There are numerous Dob and Hob crosses in various parts of Lancashire. Dob is the male goblin, and Hob the female—Saxon dancing elves or fairies. They haunt Hob stones. We have a field named Elfie Lands near Haverholt, and fairies used to dance on moonlight nights at Calf Hey Well, near Ormond Bridge, near Cockden, until the water was conveyed to Burnley in pipes. They were observed to be anxiously deliberating when this desecration was determined upon, protested in vain, and then for ever deserted their favourite trysting place.

The story of the Clegg Hall boggarts is worth recording. The mansion of the Ashtons of Little Clegg, built in 1620, is now an inn; but a much more ancient house formerly stood there, the abode of the Clegg family. Traditions are not very precise about dates, but some time in the thirteenth or fourteenth century two orphan children were left heirs of the property, when a wicked uncle, Sir Roland, murdered the children —some say by a dagger, others by throwing them into the moat. The uncle died mad with remorse, and either his ghost or the ghosts of the murdered children haunted the house, until at last they were effectually "laid." One attempt was partially effective for a time. A monk began to exorcise the boggarts, who demanded the sacrifice of a body and soul. The monk was equal to the occasion, and produced the body of a cock and

the sole of a shoe, which sufficed to complete the sacrifice, until a revival of the legend brought the spirits back to the hall.

Buried Treasure Stories

Sykes Lamb Farm, near the old hall at Samlesbury, had a troubled spirit. During the Wars of the Roses an aged, childless couple lived there, and the times being troublous, Sykes hid his paternal wealth in earthenware

CLEGG HALL.
From a Drawing by G. Pickering.

jars, and then died. His wife soon afterwards followed him to the grave without disclosing the secret of the buried treasure. Her troubled spirit could not rest, and for generations an old wrinkled woman in ancient garb haunted the orchard and farm buildings. At last she managed to point with her stick to a part of the orchard where the treasure lay, when someone, bolder than the rest, dared to hold converse with her. The treasure was found, and the spirit of the old dame was satisfied,

and was never seen again. There is another buried treasure story connected with Hulme Hall. Sir Thomas Prestwich was a loyal supporter of Charles I. during the Civil War, and was persuaded by his mother to replenish the royal exchequer on the baseless security of this untold wealth that lay guarded by demons. But this security, like many other securities, was not very safe. At the Restoration he was forced to sell his property. Fortune-tellers and astrologers have tried in vain to find that buried wealth. Though the hall has been pulled down, it may still be lurking somewhere, and some of our readers may be fortunate enough to discover it.

Legends of the Crusades

Legends connected with the Crusades are not wanting in Lancashire. There is the delightful romance, so charmingly told by Roby, connected with Haigh Hall and the Bradshaigh family. Sir William Bradshaigh was a mighty warrior, and went crusading for ten years, leaving his beautiful wife, Mabel, alone at Haigh Hall. Evil often happens when beautiful wives are left alone by their husbands, and so it turned out in the case of Lady Mabel. A dastard Welsh knight compelled her to marry him, telling her that her husband was dead, and treated her cruelly. But Sir William came back to the hall disguised as a palmer. Mabel, seeing in him some resemblance to her lost husband, wept sore, and was beaten by the Welshman. Sir William made himself known to his tenants, and, raising a troop, marched to the hall. The Welsh knight fled, but Sir William followed him and slew him at Newton, for which act he was outlawed a year and a day. The lady was enjoined by her confessor to do penance by going once a week, barefooted and barelegged, to a cross near Wigan, two miles from the hall, and it is called Mab's Cross to this day. You can see in Wigan

church the monument of Sir William and his lady which tells the sad story, and also the cross—at least, all that remains of it—the steps, a pedestal, and part of the shaft—in Standishgate, "to witness if I lie." It is true that Sir William was born ten years after the last Crusade had ended its course; but what does that matter? He was probably fighting for his King, Edward II., against the Scots, or he was languishing a prisoner in some foreign dungeon. There was plenty of fighting in those days for those who loved it; and where was the Englishman then who did not love to fight for his King and country, or seek for martial glory in other lands if an ungrateful country did not provide him with enough work at home for his good sword and ponderous lance?

Another crusading story, set in a plaintive key, tells of the valiant Sir Hugh le Biron, of Clayton Hall, who went to fight the infidels in the Holy Land. His lady waved her kerchief as he sallied forth at the head of a hundred followers. Valiantly did he fight in the Holy Land—Lancashire men were always good fighters—and many an infidel did he slay, till his arm grew weary of wielding his mighty sword, and the ghosts of the slain haunted his sleepless nights. He longed to return to his wife, and at last accomplished his purpose. As he rode up the avenue leading to his home a mournful funeral procession met him. The bearers were carrying to her last resting-place the body of his beloved wife, who for years had pined his absence, until at last death had claimed her. The poor, disconsolate knight was so overcome with grief that he retired from the world, and spent the rest of his days as a hermit in Kersal Cell, awaiting the time when the Almighty should call him and unite him once more to his beloved wife.

Other tales of war are interesting. "The Ballad of Sir Bertine, the famous Lancashire knight, who was killed at St. Albans, fighting for the glorious Red Rose

of Lancashire," tells of a gallant hero, Sir Bertine Entwisel, who fought at Agincourt and on many a foreign battlefield. King Henry VI. summoned him to fight. His wife and daughter, filled with sad forebodings, prayed him to stay, but

> Sir Bertine raised his dark vizor,
> And he kissed his fond lady:
> "I must away to the wars and fight
> For our King in jeopardy."

Sad omens of coming disaster followed. The bell tolled mysteriously in Sir Bertine's tower. Winds and storms raged horribly, and casements rattled. At last an aged man, with wan, wrinkled cheek, came to the hall and told his sad story, producing a signet from his master's hand "speckled o'er with blood." The lady's heart broke when she heard the dire news of the aged messenger:

> "Thy husband's grave is wide and deep;
> In St. Alban's Priory
> His body lies; but on his soul
> Christ Jesu have mercy."

Dragon Stories

Sometimes our brave knights have fought with more than mortal foes, and followed the example of St. George and other mighty warriors who have slain terrible dragons. If Yorkshire can boast of its famous Dragon of Wantley, Durham of its Lambton Worm, Lancashire has a no less fearsome monster in the Dragon of Unsworth, who devoured women and children. This is no legend dating back to primeval days, as it is recorded guns were fired at the monster, but his scales were so hard that they were entirely bullet-proof. The lord of Unsworth, however, loaded his gun with his dagger, and wounded the dragon so severely in the throat that it at once died, amidst the rejoicings of the people. You can see in the hall a carved table which is said to have been sculptured by means of the dagger that killed the dragon. In addition to a carving of the

Unsworth monster, you will find representations of St. George and his dragon, the eagle and child, and the lion and unicorn. The origin of the legend is unknown. Other fabulous animals appear in local legends, such as the great Dun Cow, whose mighty rib could be seen a few years ago over the doorway of an old farmhouse in Whittingham, near Preston, and gave the name of the "Old Rib" to this dwelling-place. It must have been an extraordinary animal; the rib is still a yard long, and it is somewhat worn by age, and reports say that the cow supplied unlimited draughts of milk to all comers, obligingly filling every pail that was brought to it, until at last an old witch, using a sieve instead of a pail, milked the old cow dry. After this unkind treatment it died. There was also a Dun Horse that carried off the devil, as you might have seen from the old sign-board of an inn between Clitheroe and Gisburne, called "The Dule upo' Dun." I am not sure whether it still exists. The story of this uncomfortable adventure of his Satanic majesty is worth telling. A poor tailor sold himself to Satan for three wishes, which he wasted on such frivolous matters as a collop of bacon, the enforced absence of his wife, and then, finding he could not do without her, her speedy return. At length Satan was goaded to grant him one wish more before his soul passed into the devil's kingdom, and the tailor wished that the devil might ride off on a dun horse's back and never trouble him or other poor wretches more. As is not unusual in these stories of bargains with Satan, the devil was outwitted, rode away on the dun horse, the tailor prospered, and set up the inn with this extraordinary sign.

Skull Houses

Quite a different class of traditions are those relating to skulls kept in houses. I once visited the delightful old Wardley Hall, a beautiful early sixteenth century

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house, of the usual black-and-white half-timbered construction. As you ascend the staircase, on the right-hand side there is a cavity in the wall like an aumbry in a church, with a locked door, and therein you see a grinning skull. Why should it be so carefully treasured? It has been buried, thrown into the moat, or otherwise disposed of; but then thunderings are heard, lightnings flash, storms rage, and dire disasters threaten the daring disturber of the skull's repose. On whose shoulders did this head once rest? Tradition says that the owner of it was Roger Downes, son and heir of John Downes, who married Penelope, daughter of Sir Cecil Trafford. Roger is said to have been a wild youth, one of the wildest and most licentious of the courtiers of Charles II. In a fit of drunken folly he swore one night that he would kill the first man he met, and a poor tailor happened to be his victim. He was tried, but by his courtly influence managed to escape punishment. He continued in his evil ways, and in a drunken brawl on London Bridge attacked a watchman, who with his bill cut off Roger's head. The body was thrown into the Thames, but the head was carefully packed in a box and sent to his sister at Wardley. That is the story, and a very pretty story, too! You can see the tablet erected to his memory in Wigan Church, where the inscription records: "Rogerus Downes de Wardley, armiger, filius Johannis Downes, hujus comitatis, armigeri, obiit 27 Junii, 1671, ætatis suæ 28." Antiquaries are often very tiresome folk. They will keep on upsetting pretty stories and authenticated tales. A parson of Peel, the Rev. Mr. Kenyon, was, in 1779, ferreting about the church of Wigan, when the Downes' vault was open, and the coffin of Roger was discovered. Mr. Kenyon was allowed to open this coffin, and there found the body with its head complete. So all the story of the rake's corpse being tossed into the Thames, and of the identity of

the skull with that of Roger Downes, seems to be entirely untrue. Another tradition states that the skull is that of a Roman priest who was beheaded at Lancaster for sedition in the time of William III. The Downes family were Roman Catholics, and possibly this priest was their chaplain; his death may have been deemed a martyrdom and his skull a holy relic. Nevertheless, though the body of Roger Downes lies in Wigan Church with its head complete, as Mr. Kenyon states that he saw it, the skull will still be believed to have been that of the reckless and licentious courtier, whose headless corpse lies somewhere at the bottom of the Thames.

The county can also boast of another house, named Timberbottom, near Turton Tower, which also is known as the skull house. Here two skulls were preserved, one of them having evidences that its owner had met with a violent death. The same weird results happened as at Wardley if these skulls were buried or cast into the river, and the ghosts of the owners disturbed the peace of the household until the heads were restored to their place. Possibly these fables represent the truth of the traditional affection which Lancastrians bear to their homes.

The Eagle and Child Legend

Heraldry is responsible for some wild traditions, and foremost amongst them is the remarkable story of the Eagle and Child, the crest of the Earls of Derby, sometimes described in Lancashire vernacular as "Brid and Babby." There are two or three versions of the story, and other legends exist connected with the carrying off of children by eagles, which was evidently a favourite subject for early romances. We need not concern ourselves with these variants, and I will only tell the plain, unvarnished, traditional tale of the origin of the Derby crest, doubtless invented to account for the heraldic device. Sir Thomas Lathom and his wife had

an only daughter, Isabel, but they greatly desired a son to inherit their name and estates; but no son arrived, and Lady Lathom was past the age of child-bearing. Sir Thomas, however, had a liaison with a young lady named Oscatel, who bore him a son. His father arranged with a confidential old servant that the child should be placed near an eagle's nest, and be discovered by himself and his wife as they "accidentally" walked in that direction. All passed off well, and the scheme prospered. Lady Lathom was delighted with the boy, and thought that God had heard their prayers and worked a miracle to supply them with a son. The boy was at once adopted, and named Oskatel; but Sir Thomas could not carry his deceit to the grave, and, confessing the secret to his wife, left the greater part of his estates to his daughter Isabel, who had married Sir John Stanley, a gallant knight and a great traveller, who rose to high favour with the King. He fought in a grand tournament at Winchester against the Admiral of Hainault, one of the bravest men of his age, and overthrew him in the lists. King Edward III. knighted him, bestowed on him

> for his hire
> Wing, Tring and Iving in Buckingham,

and he gained the heart of Isabel Lathom by his gallantry, whom, after some years of weary waiting, he married. He served bravely in Ireland, and held that "distressful country" for the King, and, moreover, was granted the "Kingdom of Man." Oskatel obtained the dignity of knighthood, and though he lost the greater part of the Lathom property, inherited the manors of Irlam and Urmston and other possessions, so the story goes; but the Lathoms of Astbury held this property previous to the existence of Oskatel Lathom. Mr. Roby states that

> it was only subsequent to the supplanting of Sir Oskatell that the rivals (Sir John and Lady Stanley) took the present crest, the Eagle and Child,

when the eagle is represented as having secured his prey, in token of their triumph over the foundling whom he is preparing to devour. This crest, with the motto *Sans changer*, the descendants of Sir John Stanley, the present Earls of Derby, continue to hold; the foregoing narrative showing faithfully the origin of that singular device.

The crest seems to have been of doubtful interpretation, as a window of Northenden church was inscribed "Oskell Lathum," with a crest—"an eagle, sinister, regardant, rising, standing, on a child, swaddled, placed on a nest." Here there is no idea of the supplanting of a foundling, but an allusion to the mythical story. The tradition was evidently a popular tale, constructed by the powerful imagination of Lancashire folk to account for the heraldic device, which was in existence long before the time of Edward III. and Sir Thomas Lathom, and was well-known in Saxon days.

A Saxon Legend

Some of our legends date back to the days of the Saxons and the coming of the hated Normans. The traditions of Kersal Hall refer to that period, and tell of Richard Peveril, the last Saxon owner, who was slain by a Norman knight when defending the home of his ancestors. But the fiends and gnomes of the woods liked not the change of masters; they raged and stormed, and attacked the new owner and slew him in the dead of night, exposing his tortured body on the threshold of the hall, *pour l'encouragement des autres*. Other victims followed, including Eustace Dauntesey, who sold himself to the devil for the sake of a beauteous bride. At the bridal feast she was borne away from him to celestial regions, while poor Eustace was carried off in an opposite direction. Norman trespassers received no encouragement at Kersal Hall.

A Stanley Legend

A fine historical romance might be woven out of the extraordinary career of Sir Edward Stanley, who

flourished in the reign of Henry VIII. He was a favourite with the King, a mighty warrior who fought at Flodden Field, where the archers of Lancashire did as much execution as "the lads of Newbury," renowned in song. He was created Lord Monteagle, and lived at Hornby Castle, where he practised the magic art, held atheistic opinions, and did much else that was daring and criminal. He was suspected of the murder of his wife's uncle, Sir James Harrington, and a vision of the murdered man and the pious counsel of the parson of Gisburn reduced him to a better state of mind. He built the chapel of Hornby, and became a believer in the faith which once he despised.

The Legend of Radcliffe Hall

The ancient ballad of "Fair Ellen of Radcliffe," styled in Percy's *Relics* "The Lady Isabella's Tragedy, or the Step-Mother's Cruelty," tells a peculiarly gruesome story. It is connected with the ruins of Radcliffe Hall, which the writer well remembers visiting in youthful days, and mourning over the sad fate of Fair Ellen. The legend tells of a beautiful damsel, "her father's only joye," but the object of the relentless hate of her step-mother. This wretch determined to kill poor Ellen. The lord of Radcliffe was one day hunting, and in his absence his wife and daughter went to the old church to pray. The wife then sent Ellen home, bidding her to tell the master-cook to dress for dinner "the fair and milk-white doe that in the park did shine so bright." This was the signal for her death. The master-cook, according to the instructions which he had received from the lady, curtly told Ellen that she was "the fair and milk-white doe," and must be slain. The scullion-boy interceded for her, and offered to die in her place, but in vain. He cried out:

> "O save her life, good master cook,
> And make your pyes of mee."

But all in vain. Poor Ellen was slain. The lord returns, and demands to see his beloved daughter. She had gone to a nunnery, her step-mother protests. But the father swears that he will neither eat nor drink till he sees her. The ballad itself shall tell the rest of the tragedy:

O then bespake the scullion-boye
With a loud voice so hye—
"If now you will your daughter see,
My lord, cut up that pye:

"Wherein her flesh is minced small,
And parchéd with the fire;
All causéd by her step-mother,
Who did her death desire.

"And curséd bee the master-cook,
O curséd may he bee!
I proffer'd him my own heart's blood
From death to set her free."

Then all in blacke this lord did mourne,
And, for his daughter's sake,
He judged her cruel step-mother
To be burnt at a stake.

Likewise he judged the master-cook
In boiling lead to stand;
And made the simple scullion-boye
The heir of all his land.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to state that the pedigrees of the Radcliffes of Radcliffe exhibit no failure of the family by the premature death of an heiress, that the last Richard de Radcliffe, who had daughters only, certainly did not make "a scullion-boy the heir of all his land" when he settled it on Radcliffe Baron Fitzwalter, that no one has quite discerned the blood on the kitchen floor, where it is said that it ineffaceably remains; but these facts do not detract from the curiousness of the legend, nor from the interest which is attached to the old hall and the distinguished families which have been connected with it.

There are many other ordinary or extraordinary ghost stories that belong to Lancashire which I must record very briefly. There is the ghostly lady who haunted Turton Tower; the spirit of the murdered heiress of Ince Hall, killed by a greedy lawyer; the "Old Madam" of Egerton Hall; and the restless spirit of the Andertons of Lostock Tower, who defrauded the Heatons out of their estates, refusing to take back some money lent to them because it was brought back a few minutes after the time agreed upon for its return.

And then we have the legends of the Lancashire witches, which would require a volume in order to do the old beldames justice—if that they ever obtained. Their weird enchantments, their spells, revels, and merry pranks, their capacities for raising storms and tempests, and riding on the winds, and causing terrible diseases, disasters, and deaths—all these have furnished matter for many chronicles, and novelists have found our Lancashire witches a grand subject for romance. They live again in the fascinating pages of Harrison Ainsworth's novel, though the terrible burnings at Lancaster in 1612 thinned their ranks, and doubtless doomed to death many innocent old women. With their decease we must bring to a close these records of old Lancashire superstitious legends and traditions, for which, in spite of the advance of education and the march of modern progress, enlightenment, and commercial success, the Lancashire man retains a warm corner in his heart, and would not wish them to be entirely forgotten.

THE SIEGE OF LATHOM HOUSE

By Mrs. Colin Campbell

"THAT heroic and loyal act of Sherlotta, Countess of Derby, in her personal and successful defence of Lathom House against a potent and long siege, deserves an entire history." In this wise is recorded, in the diary of a doughty, stout-hearted Cavalier, who was himself maimed in body and shattered in fortune in the Royal cause, an event which emblazons the page of history as an example of unselfish faithfulness to a losing cause. It is probably the personal element in the story that has kept so green the memory of the siege of Lathom; the unflinching, dauntless courage of the woman, keeping bright the honour of her husband; the great lady doing, daring, holding all for her lord. But it is not the picturesqueness of the story that gives to it its true value, but the insight which it gives of the inward bitterness of the fight between a dying feudalism and a democracy struggling into existence.

At Lathom the Earls of Derby had long kept up the state of kings; a little town in itself, comprising fortress, chapel, gardens, tilting yards, prisons, all the different adjuncts to the palace of a feudal lord, within its embattled walls, it had been the scene of vast hospitalities. There had been entertained Henry VII., who, indeed, owed his crown to his stepson, the first Earl of Derby. There came "The White Rose of England," with Arthur, Prince of Wales, and there came also James, first of the unlucky Stuarts in England, whose son was to bring such ill-fortune to Lathom. But of all who

slept within these walls, there was none more worthy than James, the seventh Earl of Derby, last owner of that vast fortress, save as a ruin, and a worthy mate had he in Charlotte de la Tremoille, daughter of the most high and mighty prince, Lord Claude de la Tremoille, Duc de Thowars, Peer of France, Prince of Tarente and of Talmont, Earl of Smens, Bevons, Taillebourgh, etc., and of the most high and puissant Lady Charlotte Brabantine de Nassau, daughter of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and of his third wife Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier, the Lady of Lathom.

ARMS OF JAMES, SEVENTH EARL OF DERBY.
From Seacombe's "History of the House of Stanley."

In 1642 King Charles was at York, and there gathered the faithful unto him. Among the foremost came Lord Strange, no heedless, frothy Cavalier, but a devout member of the Church of England of Laud's school, deeming the king of right divine, willing to give up, and did give up, all for his sovereign, to the bottom of his purse, to his death on the scaffold. So great was the personal influence which he brought with him, so quietly sure was he of his following in Lancashire, when he wisely suggested that the king should unfurl his standard at Warrington, where, with loyal Lancashire in

his rear, he might show a bold front to his enemies, that jealousies arose among the courtiers surrounding the king. Charles, with the habit common to the Stuarts and Rehoboam, turned to his foolish counsellors, and, although willing to accept of all that Lord Strange should offer in men and money (and indeed to assent to his design so long as he was with him), directly Lord Strange hasted away to raise his backing in Lancashire, the king listened to the insinuations of his evil counsellors. They urged that such a great influence was dangerous, that Lord Strange was no favourer of the court—it was true that he was no favourer of the courtiers; that the Earl of Derby was of royal blood—the fifth earl had openly declared his pretensions to the Crown. They reminded the troubled king that the first Earl of Derby had rallied Lancashire to his banner, and had marched to Bosworth Field as the man of Richard Plantagenet, and marched off again Henry's man, having crowned the Tudor with his own hands, leaving the forsaken Richard dead. The king listened, wavered, changed his mind, and unfurled his standard at Nottingham—a fatal act for him. "Long live the Earl of Derby and the King!" was the Lancashire saying, no doubt adversely commented upon at court, With this cry ringing in his ears, Lord Strange summoned the county of Lancaster, which mustered 60,000 men, on Cockey Moor near Bury, on Aughton Moor near Ormskirk, and on Fulwood Moor near Preston, amongst them a large number of the lesser nobility and gentry of the county. Lord Strange, at his own expense, raised 3,000 foot and 500 horse, and also placed £40,000 at the disposal of the king. While the Lancashire men were gathering together, with enthusiasm, under the leadership of their feudal lord, who was to be with them "bide life, bide death," there came the news that the king had decided that at Nottingham was his standard

to be raised. When Lord Strange arrived at head-quarters at the head of his men, the commission of commander, which he had a natural right to expect, was not given to him, though other troops were placed under his command. Thus a wet blanket was put on the enthusiasm of the county. Although many remained unshaken, others withdrew to their homes, unwilling to sacrifice themselves in the service of a vacillating king, while "others revolted to the Parliament with all their dependencies, suspecting, as indeed it fell out, that the Earl of Derby being laid aside, the country would never follow any other commander, and that the king's interest would dwindle and be soon lost."

In July, 1642, Lord Strange received a commission from the king to besiege Manchester, and here he found himself in the opposite camp to Ashton, Holland, Holcroft, Birch, and Heywood, who had left the Royal party owing to the king's treatment of Lord Strange, and who were now, and afterwards, strong adherents to the Parliament. During the siege the old earl died at Chester, and Lord Strange became the seventh Earl of Derby. Again the changing policy of the king prevented any successful action on the part of the earl, for while the work was in active progress a peremptory summons came to him to raise the siege, and to march swiftly with his troops to the help of the king at Shrewsbury. This order the earl promptly obeyed, only shortly afterwards to be ordered back to Lancashire, and again deprived of the men of his own raising, and strangers assigned to him.

The earl saw, naturally, the hand of his enemies at court in this extraordinary affront which had been placed upon him, and could only attribute it to some accusation of disloyalty against the king, to whom he exclaimed indignantly, "If any man living (your majesty excepted) shall dare to fix the least accusation upon me that may tend to your disservice, I hope you will give me leave

JAMES STANLEY, SEVENTH EARL OF DERBY, AND CHARLOTTE DE LA TREMOUILLE, HIS COUNTESS.

from a Painting by Lansdyke.

Drawn by W. Perry. *Engraved by H. Robinson.*

to pick the calumny from his lips with the point of my sword." The king strove to smooth the matter over, pleading that it was not the time to quarrel among themselves, when the rebels were marching towards them. Though the earl, recognising this, restrained his anger, his friends and followers showed their indignation, and it was with difficulty that he prevailed upon his soldiers to fight under another commander.

Seeing how many erstwhile loyal followers of the king had left him, knowing how ungrateful had been the treatment dealt out to the Earl of Derby, and also how great was his influence in Lancashire and Cheshire, the Parliamentary party in Manchester made overtures to the earl, offering him, in their service, a position and command worthy of himself and his ancestors. But his loyalty was of no weak-kneed kind; he was "ready to suffer all things, not only for the king, but from the king," and with indignation he replied that only when he had turned traitor would he listen to such a proposition; until then "it shall be at the peril of him that brings them."

The earl went back to Lancashire to fight with varying fortune, but unvarying loyalty, in the bitter local struggles with the county. With great difficulty he raised more men, only again to have them taken from him to fill Molyneux's regiments, sadly depleted at Edge Hill. At last there was nothing he could do but retire to Lathom, and prepare for the coming siege, which he saw was inevitable.

In April of 1643 the whole of the great estates of the earl were sequestered by the Parliament. At this time the queen held her court at York; thither, at the request of the loyal gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire, went the Earl of Derby to request help from the army of the north. This the queen promised, but the disastrous defeat of Goring, at Wakefield, changed the complexion of affairs, and instead of returning to

Lancashire with the promised aid, the earl was commanded by the king to proceed forthwith to the Isle of Man, as the prevailing disaffection had taken hold of the island subjects of Derby. He obeyed the command, although knowing that it meant banishment from the king's presence, from his own people, and that to his wife would fall the task of defending his home.

The earl left England early in June. Simultaneously came the first thunder clap of the coming storm to the countess in the form of a summons from the committee of the Holy States at Manchester to subscribe to their proposals, or to give up Lathom House. Lady Derby replied courteously, giving up the surrounding estates already under the sequestrating ordinance, and expressed her desire to dwell peaceably in her own house, with a bodyguard to defend her from marauding bands of soldiers. From this time forward she was a prisoner within the walls of Lathom. Lady Derby now became the great "She Captain" of the song. She had surely the dogged tenacity of her father, William the Silent, as she awaited for eight months the coming onslaught.

Besides courage she had a thorough grasp of military affairs. Six years before, at the time of the king's difficulties with Scotland, she had been the trusted helper of her husband, and since the outbreak of hostilities she had been the observing correspondent of her brilliant young "cousin," Prince Rupert. She was rich in faithful friends among the surrounding gentry, and now they came to serve the earl gladly. Mr. Ffarrington of Worden, though an old man, his grandfather having been controller for past Earls of Derby, came to take upon himself the difficult management of the pinched estate and depleted purse of his friend; he lost all his own possessions because of his action, and his wife was in great straits to keep a home together in his absence. Chisenhall, of Chorley, the pedantic author of *Catholick*

LATHOM HOUSE AS IT WAS BEFORE THE SIEGE, RESTORED FROM EXISTING RECORDS.

Drawn by C. Pickering. *Engraved by Edward Finden.*

History; Charnock, of Charnock; Brethergh, of Brethergh Holt, in Childwall; Henry Ogle, of Whiston, who had been taken prisoner at Edge Hill; Molyneux Radcliffe; Captain William Farmer, a Scots gentleman, who had seen fighting in the Low Countries; Edward Rawstorne, of New Hall, in Tottington, a sheriff of Lancashire; Fox, of Rhodes; Penketh, of Prescot; Worrill; Walthen, of Walthen Kay, a tenant's son from Cobhouse near Bury, a very knowing horseman, and many more, came to Lathom, among them a youngster named Edward Halsall. The chaplains, Rutter, Baguley, and Lake, were of much service to the garrison, not only in religious matters; Rutter, especially, Lady Derby's life-long friend and her son's tutor, was inexhaustible in resource.

Lathom House was well situated, as a fortress, in a lowland country. Its massive battled walls, studded with towers, were surrounded by a deep and wide moat, whose banks on either side were protected by a stiff palisading; outside this, forming a chain round the whole place, was a series of precipitous hillocks, coming, in places, quite close up to the moat. Rutter describes it as being very like the palm of a man's hand, with the house in the depression in the middle. In the midst of the fortress was the keep, the eagle tower surmounted proudly by its flag; in the keep were the private apartments of the chatelaine. It was the work of the waiting months to bring in all available men and stores. It speaks volumes for Lady Derby and her helpers, especially Mr. Ffarrington and Andrew Broome, the steward, that food, fuel, and all the different necessities for such a number of people should have been gathered together in the midst of sulky enemies, or of those aloof "neutrals" so despised of the earl. There were three hundred well-trained soldiers in Lathom, without counting the officers and retainers.

With the countess during the whole of the siege were her two little daughters, "Little Mall," so beloved of

her tender father, and Catherine, who stands so demurely between her parents in the portraits by Vandyke. They were twelve and eleven years of age respectively, and were the soldiers' darlings of the siege, the "little ladies never startled by any appearance of danger." So well were the stores managed—the countess herself giving a shrewd eye to matters—that no one was ever short of food, the great difficulty being ammunition. They could only get together seven barrels of gunpowder, but, fortunately, if the powder was scarce, the man handling the gun was skilled. On the towers, flanking each other round the walls, and on the great gateway, were stationed the keen-eyed marksmen, the keepers, the hunters, the fowlers of the sportsman earl. The countess, as commander-in-chief, appointed Captain Farmer Major of the House. Chisenhall, Rawstorne, Molyneux Radcliffe, Ogle, and Fox she made captains; they chose their own lieutenants. While Lady Derby was preparing within the walls, the enemy was doing the like without.

While the Earl and Countess of Derby represented nobly the old order of government, Alexander Rigby, of Preston, was a typical representative of the newly-awakened middle class, of respectable parentage, that with strong hands and hard heads seized upon the power. Intolerant, domineering, energetic, and ambitious, he was born a fire-brand. Having served an apprenticeship in parish affairs in more than one vestry, and gone to law with the parson, he essayed a larger sphere, and was returned as Member of Parliament for Wigan in 1639. At Westminster he was in his element; an active member of committees, he had his busy finger in many pies—in the affair of the earless Prynne; of the recusants, many of whom were his neighbours; of scandalous ministers; of the consideration of the canons of 1640; and for the abuses in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. His was the suggestion that the heads of St. John's, Queen's, and Jesus' Colleges should be sold as slaves in Algiers. A

lawyer, with a ready tongue, he had been called to the Bar when only sixteen. He made a cutting indictment of Lord Keeper Finch in 1641. That same year he was made Deputy-Lieutenant of Lancashire, and was supposed to have been the means of removing Lord Strange from the Lord-Lieutenancy. Backwards and forwards between Westminster and Lancashire, he was busy at each place.

On April 1st, 1643, he was made member of the Lancashire committee for sequestrating delinquents'

ALEXANDER RIGBY, FROM AN OIL PAINTING.

estates. Among the earliest to come under the ordinance were those of the Earl of Derby, and of his faithful friends Tyldesley and Ffarrington. As well as holding these civil appointments, he had now become a warrior, and proved his mettle in a successful little campaign in which he took Thurland Castle. As Colonel Rigby, he had the organising of the forces in Leyland and Amounderness. In Goosnargh, where he was owner of Middleton, his son, Mr. Alex. Rigby, was appointed

captain. For Lytham Mr. George Sharples was made captain, but he did not succeed in raising his company there. At the same time Moore, of Bank Hall, a near neighbour of Lathom, and Egerton, of Shaw, were made colonels for West Derby. Rigby became also commissioner for executing martial law, and so came first into touch with the Lady of Lathom.

We find many hints that Rigby had borne for long some grudge against the earl. That he resented some real or imagined slight, this may or may not be true, but we can easily imagine that to such a stiff-backed man as Rigby, the lordly fortress of Lathom was a rock of offence, and that he would have no love for the pretensions and influence of its almost royal over-lord. Then again at Lathom were gathered together many recusants. To Rigby a Papist was as a red rag to a bull; and there were also divines of the Church of England, of the kind which he designated "Popish Protestant Professors," which he loathed. Nor would he like Lathom the more because it sheltered some related to him by blood, or by marriage, who were not of his way of thinking. One may be equally sure that there would be no good feeling on the countess's part towards Rigby. She knew well that he had already laid plundering hands upon the lands that fed Lathom, and that he regarded it as sure prey for his party.

All the winter months, the lady within, and the active colonel without, each warily watched the other. The countess, not desiring to provoke hostilities, or to raid upon her own tenants and neighbours, restrained her soldiers from all provocation of the enemy, and paid for what she took, though probably she often took from the unwilling, or from those who had to pretend unwillingness. But, nevertheless, there were many small encounters between the requisitioning garrison and the colonel executing martial law. At last things were brought to a crisis. Early in February there was an affair with a

troop of Rigby's horse, under Captain Hindley, in which the Lathom men not only succeeded in rescuing some of the countess's friends from some predicament (to be taken prisoner, to be rescued, seemed to be a common occurrence), but also marched off with the lieutenant, his cornet, and some of the troopers to feed the mediæval dungeons of the fortress.

Colonel Rigby went to his committee of the Holy States, in Manchester, to recount the "last outrages of the Lathom garrison." It was decided that "in order to prevent further mischief, and secure the well affected in those parts," that Colonel Ashton of Middleton, Colonel Moore, and Colonel Rigby, under Sir Thomas Fairfax, should proceed with all speed to Lathom to smartly invest it. The rumour of this reached Lathom early next morning, Sunday, February 25th, 1644. Immediately the countess despatched a messenger for details to a "secret friend" outside.

Meanwhile the Parliamentary army was marching through Bolton and Wigan to Lathom, though the supposed destination was Westmorland. The cat was out of the bag when they got to Wigan, however, for from the pulpit of the old parish church, James Bradshaw, newly-made minister, was enacting the part of Balaam, prophesying the coming fall of Lathom, laying the walls as flat as the thumped cushions of his pulpit, and speaking of the countess in Biblical, but highly-coloured, and very uncivil language. This was the news brought by the messenger on Monday.

The garrison keenly resented the insult to their lady, and one may be sure that it was no unwelcome sight to the eager watchers when, the following day, they spied the enemy encircling the place at a distance of about two miles. On Wednesday, Captain Markland brought a letter, couched in courteous terms, from Sir Thomas Fairfax, calling upon the countess to surrender Lathom House on conditions which would be honourable to her.

His reception was polite; anything but bellicose. The well-armed soldiers were not on view, only the ordinary men-at-arms and the retainers at their usual avocations. The reply of the lady was gentle and courteous. She expressed her surprise at the request of Sir Thomas Fairfax that she should give up her husband's house. She begged a week's consideration of his propositions—time to get advice on matters of law and honour. Fairfax was not hoodwinked by these fair words. He saw very well that her ladyship was but playing to gain time. The required delay was not granted; instead, she was requested to drive in her coach to meet Sir Thomas at New Park, a house belonging to the earl, half a mile away in the confines of the park, which the general had made his headquarters. Charlotte de la Tremouille was astonished at the insolence of such a request to her, who sat on her tabouret in the presence of the queens of France! She administered to him a lesson in the ways of chivalry. "Say to Sir Thomas Fairfax," she said to his envoy, "that notwithstanding my present position, I do not forget either the honour of my lord or my own birth, and that I conceive it more knightly that Sir Thomas Fairfax should wait upon me, than I upon him."

A couple of days passed, letters and messages going to and fro, then the patience of Fairfax was exhausted, and the countess altered her tactics. She saw she could no longer delay hostilities. She acceded to the general's request, that she should receive two of his colonels, giving them safe conduct for their return. This time she received them with vizor up. As Rigby and Ashton passed over the drawbridge and under the great gateway, they found a citadel bristling with armed men; their way into the presence chamber, renowned for its vastness and beauty, was lined by well-drilled soldiers.

One may imagine the progress of the Puritan colonels up the long hall. Rigby, according to his own major, was a coarsely-mannered man, with none of the

gallantry of the gentlemen of his time. How conscious he would be of the smiling, unspoken criticisms of the ladies in attendance; nor could he fail to be impressed by the quiet chatelaine, seated as a sovereign on the dais, with her two little daughters beside her. One wonders if they had met before—the countess and Colonel Rigby. They both knew that it was to be no gloved encounter between them; each would be taking the measure of the other. As a queen giving audience, the lady made a sign that she was willing to listen to the propositions of Sir Thomas Fairfax, which were: that all the arms and ammunition should be surrendered; that the countess and her friends should be allowed to go to Chester or other quarters of the enemy, or, upon submission to the Parliament, to their own homes; that Lady Derby should be allowed to live at Knowsley, and if the Parliament consented, she should have the revenues of the Hundred of West Derby.

The countess replied that the propositions were very uncertain, the consent of the Parliament to them should have been got before making her the offer, but that she would not trouble the good gentlemen to petition for her; "she would esteem it a greater favour to be permitted to continue in her present humble condition."

The colonels liked neither their reception nor the unruffled, gentle sarcasm of the lady. They proceeded to show their unmannerliness by abuse of her friends and servants. Rigby was calling up the affairs of the past winter, upon which the countess assured them that she was quite capable of looking after her own household; she wished that the gentlemen were as able to keep the mischief-making tongues of their ministers under control.

The two men departed, smarting at defeat at the hands of a woman. On Monday, Colonel Ashton returned alone—Rigby was evidently still sore—to receive the propositions of the countess, which were: that she was to be undisturbed at Lathom for a month,

she and her whole household, with arms, ordnance, and goods should then have free transport to the Isle of Man; that no soldiers should be quartered at Lathom or Knowsley, and that none of her friends or servants then in the house should suffer for assisting her. On her part, she promised that none of her arms should be employed against the Parliament.

Fairfax saw clearly the meaning of the countess. There were now two Parliaments. She was referring to the loyal Parliament, sitting at Oxford. He sent a last proposal, that Lady Derby should have the time she wanted, and then liberty to transport her belongings to the Isle of Man, except the cannon, but that her ladyship should immediately disband her soldiers, other than her menial servants, and instead receive as her guard an officer and forty soldiers of the Parliament. The messenger this time was a peremptory, peppery little Welshman, the engineer, Major Morgan, a soldier, not a politician, who lived to serve well both Cromwell and the restored Charles. He would have improved the occasion by a description of all the terrible arms and appliances which were being brought up against Lathom. She answered him coolly that she refused their offer, and was very glad that her own had been rejected, which she would rather die than offer again. "That though a woman and a stranger, divorced from her friends and robbed of her estate, she was ready to receive their utmost violence, trusting in God both for protection and deliverance." This closed the negotiations, leaving the countess the victor in the first round.

The Parliamentary commanders met in council under Fairfax. Rigby wished for an immediate assault, but, fortunately for the countess, he was overruled. In the company of one of the recent envoys to the fortress there had been a Parliamentary captain who had recognised in Rutter, the chaplain, an old school-fellow. Thinking to discover from him the resources of the

garrison, he entered into friendly conversation with him. Rutter, knowing that time was on the side of his mistress —time to allow the Royal army of the south to travel northwards—with seeming reluctance gave his old friend to understand that the presence of this powerful armed force in Lathom was a great drain on the commissariat department, and that the countess longed for the direct attack. This, of course, the captain repeated to the council, whereupon to sit down to a siege to the starving out of the enemy was decided upon.

Sir Thomas Fairfax the same week, the first in March, was called away to Yorkshire, leaving the command to his cousin, Sir William Fairfax. Now began the serious business of the siege. A musket shot from the house a deep trench was dug, the wretched country folk around being obliged to help in the work. The companies raised in the previous winter were called up, each in its turn serving seven weeks. Patterson, of Ribby, with his Kirkham men, was the first to come. While the big trench was still in the making, the day being Sunday, and no active work going on, the time was utilised by the leaguer to send to the countess a deputation of six of her neighbours of good position, those who were sitting still and tight. They came, they said, in duty to her, and in love to their country, beseeching her to give way to the Parliament; it would prevent personal danger to her and the impoverishment of the country. The countess received them graciously, but pointed out that their request ought to have been made to the other side, who were the spoilers and robbers; that she desired nothing more than to remain in her own house in peace. These worthy folks gave such a report of her graciousness, that Fairfax, hoping to make terms, sent another envoy, Captain Ashurst, with proposals so much easier in character that the countess perceived that Fairfax, at least, was cooling in his enterprise; but she would make no terms.

The siege was now being actively pursued, a stand in the park, a wooden erection for sporting purposes, was knocked down, then the windmill was demolished; but even these acts were attended with dangers to the besiegers. Farmer, Brethergh, and Kay, their retreat secured by Rawstorne and Ogle, made a successful sortie, and marched up to the trenches without a shot being fired. The newly raised men of Amounderness and Leyland could not stand before the trained soldiers of Lathom, and scuttled like rabbits. Thirty were killed, the victorious garrison taking back with them forty arms, a drum (drums seem to have been highly valued), and six prisoners, from whom they learned that to starve out the besieged was the game. The three hundred well-drilled soldiers of the countess seemed likely to be more than a match for the 3,000 followers of the Parliament. It was the old story of the trained soldier and the raw recruit.

On the Parliamentary side the discipline was slack. One of their officers, Major Robinson, a thrifty man of affairs and good farmer in Kirkham parish, was disgusted with the waste; he bemoaned that "it was a very costly siege to the country; there was much needlessly spent against it. Some were always shooting at nothing; they could see but the walls." Their shots, aimed upwards from the outside of the hillocks, went sailing over the fortress. The poor country folk, working like galley slaves in the trenches, were continually driven away by lively sallies from the house. So harassed were they that it was not until March 19th that the first cannon was mounted in position. With a twenty-four pounder it was played ineffectually, to the entertainment of the gaping rustics.

Meanwhile, the earl, having settled affairs in the Isle of Man, hurriedly crossed the water, anxious as to the condition of his dear ones in Lathom, and found on his arrival in England that his home was straitly besieged.

Having only a handful of men, it was not possible to proceed to a direct engagement with the leaguer, but he immediately set about finding means of communication with his wife. He tells us of some of them himself: "I did write letters to them in cypher, as much in as little compass as I could. I rowled the same in lead, sometime in wax, hardly as big as a musquet bullet, that if the bearer suspect danger of discovery he might swallow it, and physick would soon find it again." He also speaks of sending messages into the house with bow, or musket; of writing on fine linen with a small pen, and sewing the linen on the lining of the bearer's clothes; of writing on the bearer's body with lemon, onions, etc., which could not be read unless dried at the fire. He has even put a letter in a "green wound."

Within the besieged fortress Rutter was the clever arranger of the "line of communication." He had his faithful helpers outside, but it was generally under cover of a sally that the besieged sent out their messages. The earl wrote promptly for help to Prince Rupert and to the king. His letters show his great anxiety for his wife, and unwavering loyalty to his sovereign. In a letter to Prince Rupert he points out that, "though it becomes me to be anxious for her that is soe neare and deare to me," it will be for the good of his majesty's cause as a whole that the prince should march to the succour of Lathom, for so many men had been drawn from the garrisons of Manchester and Liverpool to Lathom, that Liverpool, at least, might be relieved at the same time (which actually occurred).

On the receipt of the earl's appeal to the king, for whom he had sacrificed so much, Lord Digby wrote to Prince Rupert a letter revealing the well-meaning indecision of Charles. After stating that the earl has begged for relief for his wife, which the king cannot desire the prince to afford if inconvenient, yet his majesty is sensible "of the gallantry of the lady," so he

recommends her to the care of the prince, but if his highness is not able to afford her help, "which it is supposed you can hardly do at this time, unless a small party will suffice, your highness is desired, at least, to express unto her both his majesty's and your own sense of her bravery, and to encourage her to continue her resolute defence."

The earl also wrote to General Fairfax asking for a safe conduct out of the fortress for the countess and her children "if it seems good to my wife." This letter Fairfax immediately forwarded to Lady Derby. He and his officers knew well that their task would be much easier for her absence. But the countess, seeing in the proposal simply the tender anxiety of her husband, declined to desert her post unless at the direct command of her lord. So slowly did the leaguer's work proceed, owing to the sallies from the fortress, which indeed must have been constant to cover the correspondence between the earl and the inmates of the house, that Browne, the engineer, was superseded; his loyalty was suspected, and the peremptory Morgan was put in his place. So many of the soldiers in the trenches lost their lives, being an easy target to the skilled sportsmen on the towers, that it was decided that the line of attack was too near the house, and another trench further back was hurriedly constructed, the soldiers now working behind a testudo-like screen. More guns were rapidly brought up, and a "mortar piece"—the dreaded, ponderous war machine—was despatched from London. A line was run up to a convenient point of vantage, south-east of the house on rising ground, where, on an elaborate moon-shaped earthwork the unwieldy monster was placed. It was an object of intense interest and concern to both parties, but in the end was a source of more danger to those who handled it than to the besieged. It was loaded with grenadoes, and also with freestone bullets, weighing eight pounds apiece, which "when shot forth

would flee as high in the Aire, that almost a man could not see them, and then the falling was so ponderous that they brak down all where they lighted." Now, indeed, were the garrison "under shot and shell." From culverin and cannon, chain-shot and bars of iron, freestone and grenadoes were flying overhead, while the ordnance of the garrison retaliated from the walls.

The mortar had not yet succeeded in placing its shots correctly, but it made things very unpleasant for the besieged. Yet all were undaunted. The two little maids, as brave as the best, were unflinching, even when a shell burst in front of them at the dinner table. Nor did the enemy neglect to call Divine aid to their undertaking, issuing a command for a four days' general supplication.

On April 24th Fairfax resigned the command to Rigby, who, after being an unpleasant subordinate, was keen to show his mettle as commander. It was to be a duel now between the domineering Puritan and the great lady, the daughter of princes. The rigors of the siege were enhanced. He was severe "beyond the barbarity of a Turkish general." Communication with those outside became very difficult. Reckless of powder, the grenadoes were thrown continually into the devoted garrison. So plentifully was powder expended that the besieged, by raiding the trenches, added largely to their own store, the smallness of which was their greatest anxiety.

Rigby expended £2,000 in bringing up arms and ammunition for a grand assault. At last the mortar had found its mark, and threw its projectiles with thundering velocity into the midst of the fortress. Life was becoming very precarious within the walls; the countess was herself shelled out of her bedroom in the keep.

The new commander sent a violent message to the lady, calling upon her to surrender everything to the mercy of

the Parliament, insisting upon an answer the next day. But she did not keep him waiting so long. The messenger, rattling his drum to proclaim his errand, was conducted into the great courtyard, where stood the countess in the midst of her men, who had had lately some unnerving experiences, so she would give them an example to hearten them. "Carry this answer back to Rigby," she cried, tearing his message in the sight of his envoy, "and tell that insolent rebel he shall have neither persons, goods, nor house." Rather would they set fire to Lathom themselves, and "seal their religion and loyalty in the same flame," she declared, which, the soldiers hearing, broke out into cheers for their brave chatelaine: "We will die for his majesty and your honour. God save the king!" they cried.

The drummer went rattling back, and the countess immediately called a council of war. It was now necessary to attack for the sake of the nerve of the garrison. All within the walls were undismayed at the cannon, but the stones and grenadoes vomited forth by the mortar were demoralising to the stoutest soldier.

By this time the lines of the enemy spread like a spider's web round Lathom; each gateway was covered by a battery and ordnance, and for some time the leaguer had been trying to tap the supply of water to the moat. Rigby was staking much on the next day's assault—staking his reputation. He invited his neighbours and partisans to witness the pyrotechnic display which was to take place, and the surrender of the lady and her house. But while Rigby lay sleeping at Ormskirk, the bottom was being knocked out of his plans at Lathom. In the breaking dawn eighty of the garrison, under Chisenhall, stole out of the eastern gate, and was right under its covering fort before they were discovered. After a short engagement the invaders' position was captured, and retreat secured. Meanwhile, Fox was

making his way through the lines to the great earthwork on which was ensconced the mortar-piece. Here was a desperate struggle, in which, their muskets becoming unworkable, the Lathom men tore down stones from the rampart and used them against the enemy. The sconce was won, and kept by a fresh squadron of musketeers against a rally on the part of the Parliamentary soldiers. All round the walls the fighting spread, everywhere were the garrison engaged; the cannon lying beyond the ditch were spiked; while Broome, the steward, with a company of servants, levelled the great earthwork, and lowered the mortar on to a sled, which, amidst the cheers and shouts of the soldiers, was drawn through the gateway into the castle yard.

The countess was with the soldiers right up to the enemies' lines, and it was a scene of the wildest enthusiasm when, only about an hour after the sallying forth, the unwieldy dreaded monster was laid at her feet. The lady, with a grateful heart, called upon all to give thanks to God. With light hearts they turned to the fighting in the future as to a gay game. The loss to the enemy in this engagement was very considerable. On the side of the countess only two men had been killed, fighting still, poor fellows, while lying mortally wounded, for their lady. But on this occasion Captain Chisenhall brought in four prisoners; one, in gratitude, explained the manner by which Morgan was trying to get at the water supply of the house. There were, however, as skilful engineers within the walls as those outside, who not only prevented the design of the leaguer, but by flooding the works of the engineers, which were being constructed to draw away the water, drowned the unfortunate men engaged in them.

Rigby's case was a sad one, when his invited friends came to see the triumph on the wrong side—to see the new commander-in-chief routed by a lady and a handful

of men. Within a week of receiving his command he wrote, with the peevishness of an amateur fighter, complaining of the hardships of his lot. He had very unquiet nights. They sallied forth from the garrison sometimes six or seven times in a night. His son had to work as hard as anybody else. "For myself I almost languish under the burden, having toiled above my strength."

The spring rains made the condition of the men in the trenches not only disagreeable but dangerous, from the falls of loosened earth. The Parliamentary soldiers were getting out of hand; they were not receiving their pay regularly, and not likely to get either honour or the promised loot. They were being made a laughing-stock to the besieged. Night after night they were subjected to the rough jokes of their opponents, who made the dark a prolonged nightmare. One of the tricks of the garrison was to send some poor beast out of the fortress covered with fireworks of home manufacture, the frightened animal careering wildly among the besiegers like a constellation let loose.

Rigby complained that the men of his own raising of Leyland and Amounderness had refused to come back for their turn to the leaguer, and Colonel Moore's men of West Derby had struck, want of pay the "pretence." The Parliamentary colonel was being worsted by the imperturbable Lady of Lathom. The garrison had so carefully hidden the straits to which they were reduced (but for the supplies which were captured from the enemy their powder would have run out) that Prince Rupert had been told that the siege was "but a flourish and a shoot at deer."

This notion the earl combated indignantly, knowing the tremendous strain on his wife and friends in Lathom. He had established his headquarters at Chester, from whence he made desperate efforts to succour his dear ones. The officers in command of the Royalist garrison

at Chester also wrote to Prince Rupert petitioning for help for the countess, who "hath been very straitly besieged, and, as we hear, assaulted" (notwithstanding any rumours which were to the contrary), they begged for speedy relief, "in which we conceive the infinite good of all these northern parts will be most concerned, and his majesty's service very much advanced."

With the handful of men which the earl gathered together he made flying excursions into the Wirral district, keeping the garrison of Liverpool in constant fear, so that it dare not send any further help to the leaguer of Lathom. By hook or by crook, he scraped funds together. The countess smuggled her jewels out of Lathom during a hot sortie, on which the earl raised £3,000, and most probably her relations abroad sent help about this time.

At last the king, moved by the accounts of the loyal lady's distress, and also by the earl's promise of the much-required money, sent word to Prince Rupert, now on his way to join the Duke of Newcastle, to proceed by Lancashire to the relief of the house of Lathom.

On May 23rd Rigby sent another summons, couched in his usual manner, calling upon the countess to surrender all to the mercies of the Parliament. The messenger was Captain Moseley, to whom, her calmness almost breaking down under the strain of her hopes and fears, she pointed out the irony of the word "mercies." She knew the quality of the mercy of such men as Rigby and Moore—bitter neighbours, cruel enemies. Of Moore's household one of his own party said that it was "Hell upon earth," and those of it a "pack of arrant thieves." But Moseley had also a verbal message to deliver, which Rigby had not brought himself to write: that if the countess would surrender she should have the terms which she had proposed herself at the first. She knew what this meant. Rigby was no longer on the offensive; he was seeking a way out of his undertaking with some

show of honour. She had no pity to spare for him. "Let that insolent rebel send me no more propositions," she said, "or his messenger shall be hanged at my gates." Rigby was wise in his purpose. Already there was a post, despatched from London in haste on the night of the 21st, riding hard with the news that Prince Rupert was on his way to Lancashire with an army of 8,000 men. Rigby was no coward, but he might well tremble when he heard the news.

Rupert was not dainty in his way of taking revenge. On the side of the earl the same tidings were flying swiftly. Only a few hours after the departure of the envoy from the fortress, a scout sent out by the countess made his return in hot haste, killing the enemy's sentinel as he crossed the trench, to give the happy news that relief was at hand, led by the prince and the Earl of Derby. But Rupert had to fight his way into Lancashire, and two days were spent in tense excitement on either side. On Sunday, May 26th, there was no fighting. We can imagine the heartfelt prayers in the garrison chapel. As evening came on the eager watchers spied a slackness in the enemy's lines, and there were great preparations within for a sortie at dawn; but when the daylight of the May morning came, it revealed no foe to fight—the enemy had melted away like snow in summer. The siege was over.

Although no longer besieged, Lathom continued in its fortified condition. All recognised that unless the fortunes of the war changed entirely, of which, at this time, there was great hope amongst the Royalists, there would be a further attempt on the part of Parliament to get possession of so important a position in the county. By the advice of the commander-in-chief some additions of bastions, counterscarps, etc., were made to the fortifications, and repairs to the walls. To Rawstorne was given the position of the governor of the house, at the request of the countess, with the rank of colonel. Under

him were placed two squadrons of cavalry. The same rank was given to Chisenhall, who joined the forces of Prince Rupert. Liverpool having surrendered to the prince, he proceeded on his march to York.

After the battle of Marston Moor Lord Ogleby, Colonel Huddlestone, and others, being about four hundred horsemen, in making for Lathom House, encountered the enemy, and had fifty men killed and forty taken prisoners. Another fleeing detachment from the main army were overtaken by Sir John Meldrum, now in command of the Parliamentary troops in Lancashire, near Ormskirk, and although they stood to do battle they were thoroughly worsted. On this occasion Meldrum made 1,000 horsemen prisoners. Byron and Molyneux, who were in command, escaped by dismounting and hiding in the standing corn, for it was August, near harvest, if only the poor farmer had a chance of reaping it. Meldrum also succeeded in capturing a company of wretched fugitives, who had got quite close up to Lathom and were being helped by a sally from the house. In another engagement it was reported that Sir Thomas Tyldesley was either killed or fled. It was not easy to identify the dead, they were so promptly stripped naked. At this time many an unknown soldier was buried at Ormskirk. It was also reported that the Earl of Derby was in Lathom House, which report was false, for at the urgent advice of Prince Rupert he had escaped to the Isle of Man on July 30th, following his wife and children, who were already there; his presence might keep at least this island for the king. There he made his sea-girt castle of Rushen a hospitable retreat for many fugitives from Marston Moor, and, although obliged to live with strict economy and with many cares, his life was blessed for awhile by the presence of his wife, his children, and many old, faithful friends—comrades in misfortune.

Meanwhile, Lathom was again in a state of semi-siege; although the place was not completely invested, yet all soldiers leaving it were watched closely.

In October, 1644, Meldrum, writing to "The Lords Committee of both Kingdoms," says that his sentries fare badly between the loyal folks in Ormskirk and the garrison of Lathom, into which Colonel Vere and his men had fled after his defeat near Ormskirk. Altogether Meldrum thought there were two hundred horse and three hundred foot soldiers in Lathom at that time. Sir John was not at all anxious to essay conclusions with the garrison. He would rather try negotiations with the Earl of Derby, especially when seemingly a good opportunity arose again through the extraordinary conduct of the king, who had "beene tampering with the Archbishop of York" to unsettle the earl's right to the patronage of the see of Man. Not content with one letter to the Lords Committee about the matter, Meldrum wrote a second time, urging the negotiations. He had been making proposals on his own account, because of "the miserable estate of Lancashire by the garrisons kept at Lathom House and Greenhalgh Castle," the latter another fortress belonging to the Earl of Derby. This letter crossed a messenger from the Lords, with instructions, hostile in character, to Lord Derby, and inclosing a letter for the earl. In this they state they will do their best to procure his reconciliation with the Parliament if he will surrender to them "Lord Digby, Robert Maxwell (late Earle of Nidisdaile), Sr Robert Dalzell (late Earle of Carnwath), Sr Marmaduke Langdale, S^{r} Wm. Huddlestone, and ye other persons now in yr power." Needless to say the Earl of Derby rejected the proposal. He was not the man to betray his friends, and although he did not give up his just rights in the Isle of Man to the king, his majesty's action did not disturb the loyalty of his much-tried subject.

Rawsthorne, as Governor of Lathom, had no easy position, though he had under him good men and officers.

Majors Munday, Nowell, and Roby were additions to the old garrison, which had mostly remained at Lathom. Ffarrington of Worden was there still, striving to help the sad fortunes of the house of Derby, and Rutter remained indefatigable in service. Arms and ammunition were scarce, the mortar-piece had been carried off by Prince Rupert to the relief of York, and was in all probability again in the hands of the Parliament. He had also carried away with him all available supplies of powder. If, in the preparatory stages of the first siege, it had been difficult to get food and forage, it was ten times more difficult now. There was very little to be got from a land already plundered bare by both sides. At this time, in the household of the gallant Cavalier Blundell of Crosby, the bread had to be buried for safety between meals. Truly, the country folks were being ground between the upper and the nether grindstone. Meanwhile, although the troops of Lathom were anxious to prevent legalized robbery on the part of the enemy, they were not at all scrupulous in requisitioning themselves. They preferred to rob the lands of the sympathisers with their enemy, and went far afield to do it. Major Robinson, who was fighting for the leaguer in the first siege, had a comfortable homestead away over in the Fylde district—Westby Hall in Kirkham parish. Over there went some of the Lathomers by night, and attempted to lift the major's horses. But in Kirkham many of the country folk were on the major's side. They came out and stoned the marauders, who would have fared very badly had not Mrs. Stanley of Eccleston, whose sympathies were with the king's party, let the delinquents slip away through her garden. But they did not go away empty after all. They remained hidden all day, then started home the next night, when, between Clifton and Treales, they met an unfortunate man, James Clitherall of Eccleston, whom they took away by force and kept him a prisoner until his wife got together fifty pounds for his ransom.

There was no countess now in Lathom, with her restraining influence, and the situation had become much worse. Each side was fighting savagely—the Royalists, with little hope, but a determination to die hard; the Parliamentarians, sore that their enemies took such a lot of beating, very sore that they were still kept in the field.

Sir John again urged that the earl be approached, and a safe conduct given to him, to meet the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, both Parliament men. But the negotiations came to nothing.

Some time during the winter Lieutenant-Colonel Rigby, Colonel Rigby's son, who, in the first siege, had been in command of the Goosnargh men, was captured by the garrison. There ensued long negotiations. Lathom was not going to let him go without an equivalent. The House of Commons was very interested in his behalf. Rigby, the father, was a very important man now, but it was not until the early summer that the prisoner was released in exchange for his cousin, Sir Urian Leigh.

In the spring Egerton hoped to invest Lathom; so far he had not got within four or five miles of it. Rawsthorne had not only the fortress garrisoned, but also the New Park, Fairfax's headquarters in the first siege, and another house called "The Lodge," also in the park. In the Lodge some Irish troops were stationed, who had escaped there after the taking of Liverpool by the Parliament the November before. All through the winter Egerton had had great trouble with his men, who preferred a snug fireside to fighting. "Those few that I had, daily subject to mutinies for want of Pay, many running away and attempting to take their colours with them, in despite of their officers." He writes again in April, pleading for money for the soldiers, who "dayly moulder away," and again a few weeks later in the same strain, that "the houlds of Lathom and Greenhaulgh are still such pricks in our eyes and thornes in our sides." But money was hard to come by anywhere.

At any rate, the authorities in London did not send any down to Lancashire, so Colonel Rigby was sent to the rescue. He with two officers of his old regiment, one of them Major Robinson, were "permitted to make discoveries of any Papist's or Delinquent's estates." These would be estates which they had bought back from the sequestration courts only to be re-robbed of them.

Meanwhile, there had been active hostilities on both sides. Colonel John Tempest, a volunteer in Lathom, had done yeoman service in conducting a sally, in which the enemy's magazine of powder was captured—a great help to the garrison. On the other hand, the Lodge was attacked sharply, and called upon to surrender; but the loyal Irish fugitives within refused. They "would keep it for their good king," they declared, whereupon the house was subjected to a very severe assault, and great breaches being made in the walls, there was desperate hand to hand fighting. Many were slain on both sides. So determinedly was the place held that not one of its gallant defenders escaped; half were killed, the rest taken prisoners, amongst them a "supposed Popish priest, Popish books, and crucifixes" also ammunition and arms. Simultaneously Lathom House and the New Park were besieged.

In July before this Greenhalgh Castle had surrendered owing to the death of its brave governor, and Lathom alone was holding out for the king in Lancashire. Morgan was then busy entrenching and undermining. The garrison were countermining and playing their old trick of flooding the enemy's works. Not being able to tap the water in the moat, the leaguer fouled it; but, fortunately for the besieged, they were able to dig a deep well within the walls; also they dug for coal, which they found to their great satisfaction. There were now about 6,000 men outside, 400 within.

In August, John Sharples, the earl's controller in the Isle of Man, came over to Gillibrand House in Parbold

on the earl's business with Paul Moreau, Lord Derby's trusted servant. They were caught by the Parliamentary troops, and were to have been sent up to London; but, on second thoughts, it was decided to send them to Lathom to arrange terms of surrender. But the garrison would not talk of terms; they were not at the bitter end yet, though it was drawing near.

As though it were but a tournament one officer would challenge another in the opposite camp, and the ensuing combat would be watched by both parties as though it were for a lady's favour that they gaily strove, or troop would challenge troop in the same manner. On one of these occasions Major Munday was the hero. Being shot in the face and bleeding exceedingly, he bade his troop keep fighting while he retired to have the wound stitched up, which, being done, he returned to conquer. Captain Kay fought Captain Assmall hand to hand on horseback, in which encounter Kay thrust his opponent through the neck with a javelin, killing him, and afterwards raised the dead body on his saddle-bow, and rode away with it. Captain Molyneux Radcliffe, after gallantly defending Lathom through two sieges, fell at last while attacking one of the enemy's forts.

Bitter winter was coming. In the cold it was hard work for the besieged to fight with empty stomachs. Supplies were running rapidly out, and they saw no possible means of getting more. There had been hopes that the king would have succoured them from Chester, where he was stationed, but after his defeat at Rowton Heath he sent word by Rutter, who had escaped out of the fortress to tell the king of its true condition, that it was his majesty's pleasure that the governor of Lathom should surrender upon making the best terms possible. Rawsthorne and his faithful officers were very unwilling. They were in an evil case; half of their men had been killed. Arms had been sent down at last from London. They were again under fire from ponderous war machines.

But it was not sudden death that they feared, but the lingering tortures of starvation. Rutter's last means of getting provisions were exhausted, and he had had many. Their horses were all eaten but five; those would be wanted to mount their commanding officers with some show of state if they were to surrender.

At last reluctantly they signalled their willingness to treat with the enemy, and on behalf of the governor Colonel Nowell, Colonel Vere, Peter Travers, C. Walker, and Andrew Broome, gentlemen, met Colonel Booth, now in command of the besieging troops, and others of his party, amongst whom was the old enemy of Lathom, Alexander Rigby. No conclusion was arrived at at this meeting. The Lathom men were very stout. They vowed they could hold out if their conditions were not accepted; but, in spite of their valiant words and bearing, Rigby's keen eyes saw all the marks of hunger and want upon them. When they had retired he remarked that, "notwithstanding their seeming stoutness and highness of stomach, the smell and taste of their garments betraied them." Another meeting took place; terms were arranged by which a portion of the revenues of the earl's estates was to be handed over to the countess and her children, and the governor and officers of the garrison were to go at liberty to their own dwellings, or to other garrisons held by the king.

At last Lathom surrendered on December 4th, 1645. "On the 8th, in the evening, after the house was up, there came letters to the Speaker of the Commons House of the surrender of Lathom House," at which there was great public thanksgiving. Now ensued a scene of reckless havoc; the house, with all the goods therein, was given up to the soldiers. In their savage handling they destroyed that which might have proved of much value to them. They stripped the house of all its rare valuables, tore down the embroidered hangings, hacked asunder the huge leaden cisterns, stripped the lead off

the turrets, blew up the towers and the walls, pulled down the gates. They could not play havoc quickly enough, so set fire to the place. But the solid old walls withstood the fire. So at last the country folk were invited to use Lathom as a stone quarry. The massive beams were sold, and became incorporated in many buildings. Some left for a while unused were, a few years after, carried to Bolton by the order of the Parliamentary party to make with them the scaffold for the earl when the day came on which he laid down his life for the king. Major Robinson was shocked at the pillage of Lathom, though he stood by and probably got his share. Seeing it lying in ruin, he thought of its ancient glories. "It was the Glory of the County," he said. "The Earls, Lords thereof, were estimed by most about them with little less respect than Kings."

He probably had a lingering liking for the earl, for he sought to lay the blame at the door of the foreigner. "It was the wilfulness and the headiness of the countess that brought this downfall upon it," he wrote. He was disgusted, too, that "Wigan men, those supposed Royalists, were more forward than others to buy the lead of Lathom, and to deface the House."

Probably many sought and bought mementos. Certainly fragments of the beautiful stained glass saved, when the rest was shattered, found homes in many a Royalist house, amongst others, New Hall, the home of the devoted governor, Colonel Rawsthorne, and Worden, whose owner, Mr. Ffarrington, after his long, sad service to the earl, was taken prisoner by the Parliamentary forces on his way home, in direct violation of the terms of surrender.

The old keep, the eagle tower, built so strong that it was too much labour to demolish it, alone remained of Lathom, "the little town in itself."

Over the sea the earl heard, with bitter sorrow, the news of the dismantling of his house. He had willingly

given up much for the king, but the wilful destruction of his ancestral home touched him sorely. Apt were the words which he quoted in his book of *Private Devotions:* "Our Holy and beautiful house, where our Fathers praised Thee, is burnt with fire, and all our pleasant things are laid waste. I have forsaken my House. I have left my heritage. I have given the dearly beloved of my soul to the hands of enemies. The cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also, and the raven shall dwell in it. The line of confusion is stretched upon it, and the stones of emptiness."

ELSWICK CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
THE MOTHER OF FYLDE NONCONFORMITY

By the Rev. B. Nightingale.

SOME years ago the writer spent a quiet and most restful holiday at Elswick, a quaint little village lying in the very centre of the Fylde District. Journeying thither in true Bohemian fashion on the float which conveyed one's requirements from Preston, we housed for six weeks in a low-roofed, thatched cottage, which easily permitted the light from the kitchen to pass through the bedroom floor at night. Sauntering along peaceful lanes before the cycle had reached popularity and the motor car was even a dream; disturbed in one's reveries only by occasional "trippers" from Blackpool and the short, sharp whistle of the rural postman; indulging in daily siestas in the orchard and gathering plums and apples as one felt disposed; and carrying pails of water from the spring some distance away—there was in all this that absolute "change" from one's usual way of life that really makes the holiday; whilst the sweet reposefulness which ruled everywhere was most soothing to tired limb and wearied brain. Being some four miles from the nearest railway station, Elswick still enjoys a considerable amount of "splendid isolation"; it is a real "retreat," one of those delightful "sleepy hollows" of which Nature has provided not a few, and to which it is such a relief to go, and so escape from the rush of life. Perhaps it is not strictly accurate to speak of it as a "hollow," for the Fylde

country generally is remarkably flat; but what it lacks in the way of "hill and dale" is more than made up in its abundant fine woodland scenery. He must indeed be difficult to please who is not frequently charmed by the "beauty spots" that are easily found in this neighbourhood. The village can lay claim to very considerable antiquity. As much might be inferred from the name, for there is a good deal of ancient history concealed within it. It appears in documents as old as the Norman Conquest, being, of course, differently spelled from what it is to-day. In Domesday Book it is "Edelswic," and in later documents "Ethelsyck" and "Ethelişwyck," the villa, retreat, or residence of Ethel, some Anglo-Saxon proprietor.

During the great Civil War its peaceful abodes were several times disturbed by the din of conflict. Its situation made this inevitable, for it was quite in the storm centre; it was almost directly in the pathway of the two contending parties as they moved between Preston and Lancaster to capture the one town or the other. Two such occasions in particular are worth recording. In 1643 the Earl of Derby, who was the King's most powerful and devoted supporter in the county, marched with a considerable army against Lancaster, in reference to which a contemporary writer says:

> To Lancaster was their march through Treales, Wharles, and Rosaker, and who ever had the title of Roundhead in their way, from them they took what they liked. It is said the Earle himself stayed at Elswick whilst his companie plundered Mr. William Swarbrecke's Books, a blemis and stain to his honour, if true.

The same writer, in his account of the defeat and dispersion of the Scotch forces by Cromwell at the Ribble Bridge in 1648, has the following:

> They fled downward into the Fyld Country, and in great feare as was thought parted themselves into sundry roads or waies. For more expedition some took up a way by the Lund Chapell through Treales

and up to Eswicke and soe homeward. Others of them went through Kirkham and were going through it all that night, and soe to Thistleton whether over Wyre watter or by St. Michael's was not certain.

Two names in these extracts call for at least brief pause. Baines says that William Swarbrick was the Nonconformist minister of Elswick Chapel. There is no reliable authority for such a statement, and it is more than likely that Elswick Chapel was not then in existence. It is much to be regretted that more is not known of this interesting man, upon whom the Earl quartered his soldiers and whose library was plundered; but it would appear that he was a son of John Swarbrick of Roseacre, practised medicine, and was for some time a captain in the Parliamentary army, in which capacity he did most useful service.

For once, also, we are upon solid ground in relation to Oliver Cromwell. It is wonderful testimony to the power of his personality that traditions of him are preserved in all parts of the country, in places as remote from each other as it is possible for them to be, and in the most retired hamlets and villages as well as in the chief centres of population. If half the current stories about him are true no man was ever so ubiquitous; for if there is a ruin of a castle or abbey or church anywhere, and especially if anything resembling shot-holes can be found in its walls, it is invariably put to the account of Oliver Cromwell. For once, however, it is not tradition but history that places Cromwell in this neighbourhood, and though no dismantled fortress or crumbling abbey witnesses to his destructive presence in the Elswick village, we do know that the men who fled before his victorious power sought refuge in its safe retreats.

The principal object, however, in the village to-day is the Congregational Church, whose tall, handsome tower is a conspicuous landmark for many miles around; and it is the history of this Church which is written in the

history of the village as nothing else is. As will be inferred from what has already been stated, the present structure is quite new. It was erected as late as 1874, being opened for public worship on May 28th of that year. It is the third building which has been erected for Congregational worship in the village. The second one, a plain, simple structure, still stands, and is now used as a Sunday School. It is only a few yards away, and, according to the date-stone over the porch, was erected in 1753, when the Rev. Robert Moss was minister. All trace of the first church disappeared long ago—not even its site can be identified. The Vicar of St. Michael's, writing in 1722, says that it stands upon "a common called the wastes or Leys uninclosed"; but no one can say precisely where Elswick Leys or Lees is, though general opinion fixes upon a spot about a hundred yards away. Nor can we determine exactly the date when the cause here originated, though we can come within a year or two. In May of last year the Church celebrated its two hundred and fifty-eighth anniversary, which, of course, points to 1650 as its birth date. It is only within recent years that the Church has thrust its claim so far back, being satisfied with 1672, the year of Charles's Indulgence Declaration. The contention of the Church, however, is correct, except that it will be quite justified in putting its claim a little farther back still. The year 1650 saw the issue of a Parliamentary Survey of all the Church livings in the county, and in it we read of "the inhabitants of Elswick," who were "five myles from their parish church," having "lately, with the voluntary and free assistance of some neighbouring townes, erected a Chappell in Elswick aforesaid." That word "lately" is a little tantalizing, but from other evidence it would appear that the building was erected somewhere between 1646 and 1650; and the interesting fact about it is that its Nonconformist history is continuous. The Vicar of St. Michael's, in 1722, speaks about it having been seized

by Presbyterians at the time of "King Jam's Toleration," but the same party had used it long previously, and if ever it was in the possession of the Episcopalians, their tenure of it must have been exceedingly brief. The fact is not only interesting, but it is also singular. In many places the Nonconformists endeavoured to regain and retain the use of the structures from which they had been ejected by the Uniformity Act of 1662, but they seldom succeeded in doing so. In some instances the strife was persistent and bitter, considerable litigation followed, but almost invariably they were "outed," and compelled to erect buildings for themselves. In the case of Elswick, however, it was otherwise, and the Church there has the almost unique experience of having been in undisturbed possession of the premises from the very commencement of the cause.

The list of ministers who have served here is a lengthy one, and it is tolerably complete, the first known being the Rev. Wm. Bell. The career of this good man, who was settled here in December, 1649, and towards whose support the Plundered Ministers' Committee granted an augmentation of £50 annually, is not easily followed; but the evidence points in the direction of the person of that name whom Calamy describes as M.A., "a great scholar and a good orator." The place was vacant in 1650, and in that year William Bell, M.A., appears as incumbent of Huyton, near Liverpool, whence he was ejected by the Uniformity Act in 1662. Calamy further informs us that after his ejectment "he lived privately at Sinderland, in the parish of Ashton-under-Line, being a constant hearer of Mr. Angier of Denton." Returning subsequently to the neighbourhood of Huyton, he availed himself of the liberty which the Indulgence Declaration offered, and took out a preaching license on September 5th, 1672. On the withdrawal of this liberty a few months afterwards, it would appear that he either conformed or that his Nonconformity was of

such a mild type as to be connived at by the authorities, for his labours here continued to be uninterrupted until his death, ten years afterwards. In the nave of Huyton Parish Church is a brass thus curiously inscribed:

Here Underneath Lyeth The body of That Worthy Divine and Most Famous Preacher of God's Word Mr WILLIAM BELL Mr. of Arts, whose Pithy and Sententious Sermons warmed The Hearts of all Good Christians That Heard Him, and whose Pious Life and Holy Conversation was A Continual Sermon To Teach Others Imitation. HEE Dyed, or Rather Begun to Live A Life of Glory upon Monday The 10th Day of March, And was Here solemnly Interred on Wednesday the 12th of March Anno Dom 1683 and in The 80th Year of His Age Having Been Pastor of This Church A Boue 20 years.

We have no information as to who immediately followed Mr. Bell at Elswick, if anyone did, and we need not be greatly surprised at this. The succeeding years, with brief intermission, until the advent of William and Mary in 1688, were years of great suffering for Nonconformists. Fines, imprisonments, ejections were the frequent experience of these men and women, whose offence was that they felt constrained to give heed to the sovereign voice of conscience; and, as the chief burden of this fell upon the ministers, it is more than likely that small out-of-the-way places like Elswick would only be indifferently supplied by pastors. To this period, however, belongs the Rev. Cuthbert Harrison, B.A., the next known minister here, the one man whose name bulks in the history of this place as no other does, around whom tradition has woven all kinds of exciting and interesting stories, and who is still spoken of in the neighbourhood as a great moral and religious hero, to be always kept in honoured memory. Fortunately, we are not left to tradition in this case.

Some years ago a member of the Harrison family, and a descendant of the minister in question, lent the writer a number of interesting family documents, amongst them being a memoir of the Rev. Cuthbert Harrison in the form of a letter written by Richard

Harrison, Cuthbert's son, to Paul, his younger brother, resident in London, who was anxious to obtain full and accurate information respecting his illustrious father. Unfortunately, the letter is without date, but it would appear to have been written when both sons were well grown, and gives abundant evidence of the great care which the writer took to place on record only such things as he was persuaded were absolutely true. He speaks repeatedly about his "vouchers," refers to original documents in his possession, gives, where possible, the names of persons who had communicated such and such information to himself; and an interesting point about the letter is the extent to which it agrees with the traditions still in circulation in the neighbourhood. The reader will enjoy a brief sketch of this remarkable man, who, though being dead, still speaks with such clear and powerful eloquence. Cuthbert Harrison was a native of the district, being born at Newton, near Kirkham, where the Harrisons had lived for several generations. His father was Richard Harrison, and Cuthbert was the youngest of five sons, his brother Joseph being minister of Lund Chapel close by, whence he was ejected in 1662. Cuthbert Harrison received his University training at Cambridge, where he obtained his B.A. degree; and his ordination took place in Kirkham Church on November 27th, 1651, when he was about twenty-four years of age. He had already been "chosen by the inhabitants" to officiate at Singleton Chapel, only two or three miles from Elswick. His stay here does not appear to have been prolonged, for in July, 1660, he is named as "Minister of the Gospel at Shankell-cum-Lurgan in the County Ardmagh." This was the place whence he was ejected in 1662, and Richard Harrison's letter states that he effected his escape to England with great difficulty "in a ragged disguise," and that "his beloved people there preserved his goods for him." It was during this period that a threatening letter from some

anonymous person was sent to him. The original is still in the possession of the Harrison family. It was an impudent attempt at blackmailing, to which doubtless the suffering Nonconformists of that time were frequently subjected, and is remarkable for its bad grammar and even worse spelling. The following is a copy:

Sir

I command you to make reddy the sum of 100 Hundred pounds against the theard of December, which will be Demandid of you att your own Door att two a Clock in the morning under paine of youer house and barne being Blowne up in an Instantt—if not reddy att the time apointtid in cashe expectt youer own person in danger when you are the leastt aware of ,itt.

Through his wife, Ellen, a sister of Dr. Swarbrick, previously mentioned, Bankfield, formerly a part of Singleton Grange, came into his possession, and it was here that he resided on his return to England. The building, which until recently was the home of the Harrison family, lies a mile to the right of the main road leading to Poulton and Blackpool, and, on the other side, overlooks the Wyre. Nestling amongst the trees which abound in the neighbourhood, it is beautifully sequestered, and a visit to it easily explains why members of the Harrison family were accustomed to fall into raptures about the charms of their ancestral home when, after years of absence and wandering, they were able to assemble within its walls. Cuthbert Harrison availed himself of the liberty which the Indulgence Declaration offered, and took out a preaching license on July 16th, 1672, both for his own "howse at Singleton Grange" and "the meeting howse in Elswick Lees." The following extract from Richard Harrison's letter will give some idea of his experiences during this period:

This license [for Elswick Lees] served him but a short time, for the Parliament meeting declared them illegal, and then he preached in his own house at Bankfield, as he had formerly done before he obtained

the license, and also at several houses in and near Elswick, very privately in the night, to such as would adventure to hear him. He went often into Ireland to visit his beloved people there. He practised physic with good success, whereby he supported his family and gained the honour of the neighbouring gentry. He baptised us, his own children, with many more.

His chief opponent was the Rev. Richard Clegg, M.A., the newly appointed Vicar of Kirkham, and the stories in circulation about the rencontres between the two men show that the Kirkham vicar found his Nonconformist brother a somewhat tough customer, who, to use a modern, though not particularly elegant expression, was not always disposed to take the doings of his enemies "lying down." He was an entirely different type of man to Isaac Ambrose, much of whose ministry was exercised in the adjoining parish of Garstang, and in close proximity to his own. There was a good deal of the militant spirit within him, and in his hands satire was a very effective weapon. Placed under the ban of the Ecclesiastical Court because he persisted in preaching, marrying, and baptizing, the sentence of excommunication was eventually passed upon him; and Richard Harrison tells about him going to Kirkham Church on the Lord's Day whilst the censure was still hanging over him. He says:

He took his place amongst the gentlemen in the chancel. Mr. Clegg, the Vicar, who wrote his prayer before sermon and all his sermons also in characters, was got into the pulpit and looking aside and seeing him come in and place himself lost the end. He could not find it again, and was silent for some time then ordered the church wardens to put him out; they went to our father and told him what Mr. Clegg had ordered and desired he would go out. He refused, and said that except Mr. Clegg himself would put him out he would not go. Mr. Clegg then desired Mr. Christopher Parker who was justice of peace and then in church and sat within 6 foot of our father to put him out, but Mr. Parker refused, and said he would not meddle. Then Mr. Clegg went to our father and took him by the sleeve and desired him to go out. He went along with Mr. Clegg and opened the chancel door and was no sooner out but with a strong voice said "It's time to go when the devil drives."

It was this incident which afterwards led a judge at Lancaster, before whom Cuthbert Harrison had been summoned by the vicar, to sum up before his jury in the words:

> There was fiddle and be hanged, and fiddle not and be hanged. The defendant was under Church censure which might prevent his going to church, goes to church and is put out, and sued upon the statute for not going to church. Gentlemen, pray consider it.

The "gentlemen" did consider it; Cuthbert Harrison won his case, "and all costs were thrown on Mr. Clegg, with many approving scoffs."

This remarkable man, who may well be called the pioneer and founder of Fylde Nonconformity, did not live to see the dawn of a brighter and happier day. Report has it that he was under Church censure at the time of his decease, in October, 1681, and that "great entreaty" had to be made to Mr. Clegg before he would suffer his body to be buried in the church." Nor did the contest between these two men terminate with his death, for though Mr. Clegg gave permission for the body to be interred in the Church, report has it that upon his tombstone he caused the following inscription to be placed:

Here lies Cud
Who ne'er did good,
  But always was in strife:
Oh! let the knave
Lie in his grave
  And ne'er return to life.

A sympathizer of Cuthbert Harrison subsequently altered the words thus:

Here lies Cud
Who still did good,
  And never was in strife
But with Dick Clegg
Who previously
  Opposed his holy life.

Attempts have recently been made to discredit all this, but the authority for it is Richard Harrison himself

in the letter previously named, and he also supplies the following interesting variation:

Here lies Cud
Who did much good,
And never courted strife.
He has nought to fear
From enemies here,
And will return to life.

Few families have produced such a long list of illustrious men as the one of which Cuthbert Harrison was the ancestor. Some of the descendants sought the ministry in the Church whence Cuthbert Harrison had been ejected; others, like Joseph Harrison, of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, were amongst the most distinguished men of the Unitarian ministry; Dr. James Bower Harrison was an eminent surgeon in Manchester; and William Harrison Ainsworth added glory to literature by his fascinating novels. The much persecuted minister of the obscure little Nonconformist Church in a Fylde village has had his revenge in a name that is not likely to die out for many a day, and in a long succession of men whose life and work are written large in the literary, scientific, and religious history of the nation.

Space will not permit of anything like a detailed notice of the ministers who followed, nor, indeed, does any one of them stand out with anything like the prominence that Cuthbert Harrison does. Of Jonathan Nightingale, who received a "call" in 1703, we know little beyond the fact that he was a student in the Rev. Richard Frankland's Academy in 1697, completing his education under the Rev. John Chorlton, of Manchester, and that he was buried on October 25th, 1705, at Blackburn, being described in the parish register there as of "Andlesark, in ye Parish of Bolton, a Dissenting Minister."

During the forty-four years' ministry of the Rev. Robert Moss, the second building for public worship,

the one now used for Sunday School purposes, was erected. He is described as "a man generally esteemed and loved," dying on April 2nd, 1759, at the age of seventy-one years. His tombstone is in the graveyard surrounding the building erected during his ministry. J. Wilding, — Aspinall or Aspinwall, Daniel Tunstall, and Thomas Phillips, who fill up the years from 1759 to 1781, are little more than names. This was the period of marked theological change—the "old dissent" had considerably drifted from the theological positions of the men who "went out" in 1662, and in whose lives and labours many of the old Nonconformist foundations had their origin. The drift had gone even beyond Arianism, and Unitarianism in quite open and pronounced form was preached in many of the Nonconformist pulpits of that time. It would appear that the infection had spread even to Elswick, and that in particular Mr. Tunstall sympathized with the new trend of things. The story, therefore, is that when Captain Scott, the soldier preacher, friend and colleague of the Rev. George Whitefield, and one of the chief agents of the Evangelical Revival, visited these parts and desired to preach in Elswick Chapel, Mr. Tunstall refused to allow him the key. The trustees, however, intervened, forced open the doors, and Mr. Scott preached to a large and deeply impressed audience with the most gratifying results. The ministry of the Rev. Robert Simpson, afterwards Dr. Simpson of the Hoxton Academy, continued only about a year, the Congregational Church at Bolton, with its wider opportunities of service, attracting him thither. The Rev. Timothy Senier, who followed, adopted Baptist views, and founded the Baptist cause at Inskip, taking with him a few of his old adherents. A three years' pastorate by the Rev. Abraham Hudswell was followed by one of forty in the person of the Rev. David Edwards, who brings us within living memory. These were days of vigorous itinerant

work in the Fylde District, and the name of Mr. Edwards is still affectionately mentioned as that of a man who laboured abundantly, tramping long distances to reach out-of-the-way villages, hamlets, and homesteads that he might preach to the people the Gospel which he loved so much. The ministry of the Rev. Joshua Armitage, like that of his immediate predecessor, extended to nearly forty years, and was much after the same type. A brief pastorate by the Rev. H. W. Stranger was succeeded by that of the Rev. John Robinson, of Ramsbottom, his successor being the Rev. J. C. Hodge. The present pastor is the Rev. E. G. King, formerly of Liverpool.

As previously intimated, the interesting point about the history of this Nonconformist cause is its unbroken continuity. In this respect it is almost unique in the county, and, indeed, in the country. The course of events is generally something like the following. First, there is an old Episcopal foundation, with its Puritan vicar, who suffers ejection in 1662. Lingering in the neighbourhood, and occasionally holding secret meetings with his sympathizers and friends, the Indulgence Declaration of 1672 brings relief, and he takes out a preaching license and openly conducts religious services in barns, out-houses, etc., amongst his supporters. Later repressive legislation puts an end to this, but these little congregations almost invariably hold together in one way or another, become the nuclei for the Nonconformist Churches of our times, take definite form and shape after the Act of Toleration, and eventually erect for themselves a building for public worship. In the case of Elswick, however, it is quite otherwise. The chapel on Elswick Lees, described in 1650 as "lately" erected, whose earliest minister was William Bell, the ejected pastor of Huyton, was the one which Cuthbert Harrison licensed in 1672, and it continued to be used for Nonconformist worship until it was superseded by the one erected by the Rev. Robert Moss. It has also been

pointed out that the descendants of Cuthbert Harrison have been remarkable, alike for their number and influence, and precisely the same may be said of the Church which enjoyed his ministrations. Two centuries and a half ago it was alone in the District, but to-day the immense area lying between the Ribble and the Wyre is dotted over with Nonconformist interests, the offspring of this most prolific mother. The coast line in particular from Kirkham to Fleetwood has witnessed much religious activity within recent years. Old centres of population like Kirkham and Lytham have received revival and power; new centres like Fairhaven, St. Anne's, South Shore, Blackpool, Bispham, Cleveleys, and Fleetwood have come into being; in all of which flourishing Nonconformist causes will be found, all recognizing in Elswick the Jerusalem which is "the mother of all." The present building (as previously intimated) is quite modern. It is an imposing structure of the semi-Gothic type, stands upon land given by Miss Harrison, a descendant of Cuthbert Harrison, and is a conspicuous object for many miles around. Type of many a village church of more than one name or sect, it is impossible to stand by its side and recall its past without feeling that, quiet and sequestered as it is, its influence upon the life of the nation has been incalculable. For just as the great river which contributes to the wealth of the towns and cities through which it flows and carries the commerce of the world is the resultant of scores of streamlets born in barren and solitary places, so the villages are continually sending their best and most promising young people to enrich and strengthen the life of the great centres of population; and it is gratifying to know that under the wise leadership and effective ministry of the Rev. E. G. King, the Elswick Congregational Church is more than renewing its youth; it is enjoying a period of prosperity unsurpassed even in the palmiest days that lie behind.

THE OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

By Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A.

BEFORE the dissolution of the monasteries the education of the young was to a certain extent provided for by the monks belonging to the various religious houses; but, at its best, this could only apply to very limited areas, and the education thus placed within the reach of parents living far away from these centres must have been of a primitive and very elementary character. It was only with the rise of the grammar schools that real education became possible in many of the towns and villages.

Of the monastic schools we find a trace in the tradition as to the former use of the western gateway of the abbey of Whalley (see page 186).

An early record of a Lancashire schoolmaster occurs in 1358; but as he is described as an "evil disposed person," his position was not one to induce respect (see page 186). In 1399, however, a school existed in Preston, which was under ecclesiastical control and the master was a priest. In Lancaster a grammar school was established in 1472, and before the end of the next century many other such schools were founded, and provision made that the master should have learning enough to teach Latin, Greek, and grammar; and henceforth these subjects, with "the teaching of true religion," became the characteristics of these schools. Soon after the Dissolution, in many places the children were taught in the church itself, as at Cartmel, or in the porch, as at Middleton. In the schools founded in the time of Elizabeth and later, the kind of instruction to be given was always defined, and the curriculum at Hawkshead

was to include not only Latin and Greek, but "other Syences necessarie to be taught in a grammar schole." Many of these old foundations were established by Royal Letters Patent, and the governors were made a body corporate with a common seal.

A few of these schools had libraries, for the use alike of masters and scholars, and at least in one case (Bolton) the books were chained to the desks. The influence upon the character of Lancashire of these educational institutions during the last three centuries can scarcely be overrated, and all honour is due to their original founders.

The distribution of these schools in the various hundreds of the county is of some interest. The numbers are: Salford, 8; West Derby, 12; Leyland, 3; Amounderness, 3; Blackburn, 4; and Lonsdale, 5.

There were many free schools founded in Lancashire at various dates which were in no sense grammar schools, and were not so called, their object being to give to the children of the poor a simple elementary education.

The cock-penny so often mentioned in connection with the school fees was a payment to the master by the scholars at Shrovetide, and was paid in lieu of certain perquisites, which in the old days fell to the head-teacher on the occasions of the barbarous sports of cock-fighting and throwing at cocks which marked in school-life the holiday on Shrove Tuesday. Sir Thomas Moore, writing in the sixteenth century, spoke with pride of the skill which, as a schoolboy, he had "in casting a cok-stele," otherwise a stick to throw at a cock. In Scotland the masters claimed the cocks that refused to fight or ran away. It was said that in some places the cock was partly buried, its head and tail only being exposed for the stick to be thrown at. In Lancashire the custom died hard.

The Latin word *gallus* has a double meaning—a Frenchman and a cock—and it is thought that during

the French wars in the time of Edward III. the schoolboy first started this amusement, and thus every bird killed represented a Frenchman.

Manchester

Hugh Oldham, the founder of this school, was a descendant of an old Lancashire family, and, according to one account, was a native of Oldham, but by other writers believed to have been born at or closely associated in his youth with the town of Manchester, which, even at that date, was fast becoming the leading town in the county.

On leaving school he went to Exeter College, Oxford, from whence he removed to Queens' College, Cambridge. His first preferment was to St. Mildred's Church, in Bread Street, London, to which he was admitted on 19th September, 1485. In 1493 he was made Canon of the Royal chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, and subsequently held many other appointments in the Church. In 1506 he was Archdeacon of Exeter, and the year following was elected to the See. He died on the 25th June, 1519, and was buried in a chapel which he had erected in his cathedral. He was described by a contemporary as "a man of exalted wisdom and resplendent piety." According to one of the statutes of the school, its founder established it "for the good mind which he did bear to the county of Lancaster, where the children were of pregnant wits, but have been mostly brought up rudely and idle, and not in virtue, cunning, education, literature, and good manners."

The school appears to have been built during the bishop's lifetime, and by indenture dated 20th August, 1515, by way of endowment, he demised to the Warden and Fellows of the College of Manchester the remainder of a lease for seventy years of the water corn-mill called the Manchester Corn-mill, and all the tolls of the same which were demised to the tenants of Lord la Warr at

the yearly rent of thirteen marks, also certain lands in Ancoats. In the same year the premises were leased for sixty years to Hugh Bexwyke, clerk, and Joan Bexwyke at the yearly rent of £15 18s., over and above £9 13s. 4d. payable to Lord la Warr. In 15 Henry VIII. (1523) Hugh Bexwyke and Joan Bexwyke complained in the Duchy Court that whereas they, for the great zeal, love, and affection which they had to the bringing up of children "yn lyrnyng of gramer," had intended at their own cost to purchase certain lands towards a "ffre scole" in Manchester, they requested Ralph Hulme, of Manchester, to purchase for them "the cornemyllys and Walkenyllys" of Manchester, and with the Walker's Croft and all the water called "Yrke" from Astley Lane to the river Irwell, of Sir Thomas West, Knight, Lord la Warr. They gave to Ralph Hulme ten marks for his charges when he reported that he had bargained with Lord la Warr for sale of the premises for £40, but since the completion of the sale the said Ralph had enfeoffed his son and heir, Stephen Hulme, of part of the walk-mill and Walker's Croft. The defence set up was that the defendant had a prior claim to the mill, etc. The matter ended by an order being made that Hulme was to release any title which he claimed to have to the plaintiff. After having thus established their right they forthwith conveyed and granted the premises by deed, dated 1st April, 1524, to certain trustees for the benefit of the school. The statutes at this time made provided that after the death of Hugh and Joan Bexwyke, the head-master was to be appointed by the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; the master was to teach grammar after the manner of the school of Banbury, in Oxfordshire, which is called "a Stanbridge Grammar"; all scholars to be taught free, without rewards such as cock-penny,[1] victor-penny, potation-penny; every night at the close of the school the

[1] The cock-penny notwithstanding was in vogue in 1867, when it was abolished.

master or usher was to say "de profundis" for the soul of Hugh Oldham, Sir Richard Andreton, Henry Trafford, Thomasine his wife, deceased, and George Trafford of "The Garrett," and Margaret his wife.

The Acts and Ordinance concerning the scholars provided that no scholar should wear in the school a dagger, hanger, or other weapon; cock-fighting and "riding about for victory," and other disports common in these parts, were forbidden.

If any money remained after paying all costs of working the school, and it amounted to £40, it was to be given for exhibition of scholars at Oxford or Cambridge. Under the will of the Duchess of Somerset (who died in 1692) the scholars have in turn a claim to sixteen scholarships in Brazenose College, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge.

Another benefactor was William Hulme, of Kearsley, who by will (14th October, 1691) bequeathed estates in Heaton Norris, Denton, Ashton-under-Lyne, Reddish, Harwood, and Manchester to maintain, as exhibitioners, four of the poorest sort of Bachelors of Arts of Brazenose College—at this time the income from these estates was only £16. In consequence of the increased value of land in the district where these estates are situate, in 1814 the annual income amounted to £2,355, besides an accumulated fund of £23,700.

The original school was built adjoining westward to the college, and on the same site a new school was erected in 1776.

Middleton

When Middleton new church was consecrated on August 22nd, 1412, it included a chantry dedicated to St. Cuthbert, the priest of which was "to teache one gramer skole fre for poore children," and the Commissioners of Edward VI. reported that a priest still taught "gramer accordinge to thentent" of the founder. At this school in the sixteenth century probably

Dean Alexander Nowell and his brother Robert were educated. Robert Nowell was born between 1515 and 1520, and in 1561 he was appointed Queen's Attorney of the Court of Wards. He died February 6th, 1568-9, and a few hours before his death he said to his brother Alexander, "Forget not Myddelton schole and the college of Brasen-nose where we were brought up in our youth." Alexander Nowell was born in 1507 or 1508 at Read (see "Some Early Lancashire Authors"—Vol. II.).

In order to carry out the wishes of his brother, the Dean obtained the incorporation of this school, towards which Queen Elizabeth contributed £20. The Charter of Incorporation was dated August 11th, 1572, the Principal and Fellows of Brazenose College being appointed governors of the school, which henceforth was to be called Queen Elizabeth School. The Dean founded thirteen exhibitions of £3 6s. 8d. for six years (see Burnley, page 188). In or about the year 1572 the Dean caused to be built "a fare scholehouse of stone with lodgings for the Usher." About this date several scholars were sent to Oxford from this school. A portion of the manor of Upberry and the rectory of Gilham, in Kent, were purchased by Dean Nowell to form part of the endowment. These properties were leased to Sir Edward Hobie, who for several years paid no rent, and, consequently, Alexander Nowell, the Principal and Fellows of Brazenose, with thirteen "of the majesty's poor scholars there of his highnesses late foundation," the schoolmaster and usher of the school, appealed to the Keeper of the Great Seal of England, setting forth that the lessee only paid "as much or as little" as pleased him and "when it pleased him," and praying that the school wherein two hundred scholars were taught should not be broken up, and the thirteen poor scholars at the University should have to leave for lack of their exhibitions, but that an order be made to Sir Edward Hobie to pay up all arrears. The result of this is

unknown, but from various causes the scholarships were lost, and in 1815 the income of the school only amounted to £24 13s. 4d. a year.

Rochdale

One of the first acts of Edward VI. was to confirm to the Archbishop of Canterbury the rectorial rights and revenues of Rochdale, which he did by indenture dated 12th June, 1547; these rights were from time to time subsequently leased to members of the Byron family. In 1559 Matthew Parker was elected to the See of Canterbury; he was a man of great learning and of strong views. During the time of Mary he narrowly escaped being sent to the stake. When a young man he was Dean of Stoke, in Suffolk, where he caused to be built a grammar school, which he endowed. Finding that in Rochdale there was no public school, he at once proposed to the inhabitants that they should raise amongst themselves money to build a grammar school, which he would endow; and, as a first step, the vicar, in 1562, granted a site for the building on the glebe estate near to the church, but as there was some delay in raising the necessary funds, it was not until 20th June, 1565, that the conveyance received the conformation of the Archbishop. In the meantime the school had been erected. The head-master was to be appointed by the Archbishop, or, in case the See was vacant, by the master of Corpus Christi College, and, failing these, by the Vicar of Rochdale. According to the foundation deed, boys were to be taught gratis if there were not more than one hundred and fifty or less than fifty scholars in daily attendance, the instruction to include "learning of true piety and the Latin tongue."

An attempt was made to make Sir John Byron, who in 1590 was the lessee of the tithes, liable for the payment of the teachers' salaries, but ultimately it became a rent charge on the tithes.

ROCHDALE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Other endowments were made to this school, but none of them of large amounts. In 1712 the sum of £100 was bequeathed for the education of certain boys free (not to exceed six) as should be nominated by the vicar and churchwardens. In 1826 there were only sixteen scholars in the school, the master declaring that he could not take more without an usher, for whom no provision was made. Girls as well as boys were admitted. The teacher stated that "true piety and the Latin tongue" he taught gratis, but for all other branches of education, such as the "three R's," he charged a fee.

The original school building remained until 1846. It was only sixty feet in length and twenty feet in breadth, and built of rough stones with flag slates. Adjoining it was a chamber which formerly was the master's house. Almost a complete list of head-teachers has been printed.

Bury

Henry Bury, of Bury, clerk, was the original founder of this school, who, in or about 1625, gave a sum of £300 to establish a free school, and by his will, dated 30th October, 1634, left another £300 for the maintenance of a master. He also gave a large number of books to form a library for the use of the inhabitants of "the place whear I was borne, the place wheare my progenitors wear borne." He was, when he made his will, aged "eighty-nine yeares or thereabouts." His burial is recorded in the parish register, 2nd February, 1635-36: "Mr. Henry Bury of Bury, qui dedit Scholæ Buriensi 300li et libros 666 ꝑochiæ." In 1683 all this money had been spent on a lawsuit. In 1718 there was one surviving trustee, but he was unable to produce any writings, and as the school stood upon Lord Derby's land, his right to nominate the master was challenged by his lordship; the then master had held his post for the last thirty-two years. The surviving trustee was Thomas Nuttall, of Bury, who

was a kinsman of the Rev. Roger Kay, M.A., Rector of Fittleton, in Wiltshire, who conveyed to trustees, by indentures of lease and release dated 5th and 6th May, 1726, Chadwick Hall, in Rochdale, and other estates, for the use of a free grammar school to be erected in Bury (to, we suppose, take the place of the old one). In 1827 the income from these properties amounted to £442 a year.

Oldham

The founder of this school was James Asheton, of Chadderton Hall, eldest son of Edmund Asheton, Esquire, who, by indenture dated 15th May, 1606, granted to Lawrence Chadderton, master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and nine others, half an acre of land in Oldham, being part of a field called Kiln Croft (subject to an annual rent of 2d. if demanded), in trust that they should thereon erect a suitable building in which children should be taught English, Latin, and Greek, and good manners. He also gave a rent charge of 40s. a year to be paid to the master. Other small bequests were subsequently made, but the Charity Commissioners' Report (1815-35) only gives £26 9s. as the net income. There were then only fourteen free scholars.

The first schoolmaster was the Rev. Thomas Hunt, M.A., who was curate of Oldham from 1580 to 1611. He was a pronounced Puritan, and in 1604 was summoned before the Bishop of Chester on a charge of violating the Liturgy and ceremonies of the church; four years later he was charged with not wearing the surplice, not using the sign of the cross in baptism, and not meeting the corpse brought for burial at "the Church Steele."

Blackrod

At what date a free grammar school was first founded here is unknown, but John Holmes, citizen and weaver of London, by will, dated 18th September, 1568, left

an annuity of £8 towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster to teach in the free grammar school at Blackrod. He also gave a yearly rent of £5, issuing out of messuages and lands in Lombard Street and St. Edward in the city of London, to found an exhibition tenable at Pembroke College, Cambridge.

It appears, therefore, that before this date the school had been founded. Another benefactor was Elizabeth Tyldesley, widow, who, by deed dated 17th August, 1627, gave property in Bedford, in the county of Lancaster, the profits thereof to be devoted to the use of "some school" in Lancashire at the discretion of her trustees. In 1640 the surviving trustees settled the estate on the Blackrod school, subject to the master being able to teach Latin and Greek, and to his giving satisfaction to the trustees; failing this, the income was to be spent in buying books for the library in the school or for necessary repairs to the building. Henry Norris, by will bearing date 22nd February, 1639, left £40 towards the maintenance of a "learned and painful schoolmaster" of this school.

In 1640 Roger Bradshaw gave a yearly rental for the use of the schoolmaster of Blackrod if he could teach Latin; but, failing this, the money was to be spent in buying books for a school library.

In 1718 the school, "being ruinous," was rebuilt by the then master, Ellis Foster. Notwithstanding several smaller donations, in 1722 the total income only amounted to £24 a year. In 1827 the income had risen to £140 4s. In 1800 there were never more than six boys learning Latin, and at one period only two. In 1875 this school was amalgamated with the grammar school of Rivington. I. Rothwell, master of this school, was the author of "A letter to the Rev. Mr. Dean of Middleton, occasioned by reading his essay on the future life of brute creatures," which was published in 1769.

Rivington

The founder of this school was James, the third son of Richard Pilkington, of Rivington Hall, in the parish of Bolton (see "Some Early Lancashire Authors," Vol. II.).

Queen Elizabeth, by her Letters Patent, dated 13th May, in the eighth year of her reign, 1566, on the petition of the Bishop of Durham on behalf of the inhabitants of Rivington for the establishment of a grammar school, granted that there should be from henceforth a school at Rivington, to be called the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth, to have one master and one under-master, and a governing body of six men of the "more discreet and upright inhabitants of Rivington." A long series of statutes for the government of this school were made out and signed by the bishop; amongst these are the following regulations, viz., all meetings of the governors to be held in the church; no father and son to be governors at the same time; the schoolmaster not to be a gamester, but attend regularly the services of the church. If any learned person came to the church, he was to be requested to examine the master and the scholars. Every scholar before leaving his chamber was to pray according to a form of prayer described.

By indenture dated 6th September, 1574, the Bishop of Durham endowed the school with two annual rentals of £6 13s. 4d. and £2 13s. 4d. The Charity Commissioners, in their Report in 1827, give the income from the various properties as £308 9s. 8d., and state that the governors at that time consisted of two Churchmen, two Dissenters, and three Unitarians, and they add, "it seems questionable whether a grammar school founded by a bishop of the Established Church under a Royal Charter ought to be left to the control of governors who are Dissenters." The usher was a Presbyterian, and had a license to preach. There were then attending the school about one hundred and fifty

children; eleven boys were learning Latin, and there were ten girls taught by the head-master.

The Bishop of Durham, by his will, dated 4th February, 1571, bequeathed his books at Auckland to the school at Rivington and to the "poor collegers and others." One of the school statutes provides that the governors shall every quarter take an account of books given to the school, and if they found "any to be picked away, torn, or written in, to cause him that so misused it to buy another book as good."

The intention of the good bishop to found a library appears to have been frustrated, as in 1674 the head-master reported that "by one ill means or other, how or when it's not known," the books had been reduced to "a small and inconsiderable number," and these few before 1883 had disappeared, and not even a list of them remains.

The Rivington school was finally closed in 1875, when an amalgamation was arranged between this foundation and the school at Blackrod (see page 162).

Bolton

In 1524 William Haighe, of Wigan, by his will, dated 4th March in that year, gave to John Leaver, of Little Leaver, Alexander Orrell, James Bolton (the vicar), Richard Warde, John Walsh, and Thomas Glazebrook a messuage and tenement of the value of thirty-three shillings and fourpence, situate in Tockholes, in trust to use the same towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster to teach a grammar school in Bolton.

In the course of time all the trustees died except Alexander Orrell, and, subsequently, on his demise, John Orrell, his son and heir, managed to get possession of the title deeds, and entered into possession, and kept the issues and profits for his own private use. Some of the inhabitants of Bolton, however, in 1571, lodged a complaint in the Duchy Court, and ultimately a verdict

was given against the defendant, and an order made that the rents arising from the property should be applied to the benefit of the grammar school.

This school existed until about the year 1656, when it and its revenues were united with a new school founded by Robert Lever, citizen and clothier of London (but no doubt a native of Bolton), who, by his will, dated 16th March, 1641, declared that his brothers, William and John Lever, should hold certain lands in Harwood, paying for the same to his estate £350, or to sell the lands, and out of the proceeds pay £350; and then he directed £250 more to be taken out of his estate; the total sum (£600) to be disposed of to such pious purposes as he should appoint; failing this, his executors were to use it for the erection of a free school or a chapel, or for other pious uses.

Robert Lever died on or about the 25th May, 1644, and his two brothers only survived him fifteen months, and as the son of the last surviving executor was under age, a difficulty arose as to power to realize the estate; in addition to this, the town of Bolton was three times besieged during the Civil Wars, so that it is not to be wondered at that it was not until 1658 that any definite scheme was carried out. In this year an estate in Harwood was purchased in trust for the new free grammar school, which was to take the place of the old school, the endowments of which were to go to the new foundations.

The Rev. James Gosnell in 1622 gave the sixth part of his land in Balderston to the master of the school at Bolton.

The total revenue paid to the school in the two years 1658-60 was £83 7s. 6d. When the new school was erected the ancient building was not destroyed, as in the accounts for 1660 occurs the item, "paid for thatchinge the ould schole 14s." At this date the master's salary was £10 a year; in 1687 it was £16.

Bishop Gaskell in 1724 gives the income as £62 13s. 10d. The school-house was then twenty-four yards long and seven broad, and was built on the glebe land; it was surrounded by a yard, walled round, and containing about sixty perches.

In 1827 the total income amounted to £485 per annum. The number of scholars was limited to one hundred and twenty, all of whom received instruction free.

The Rev. William Boardman in 1686 assigned, by deed, dated 10th November in that year, property in Little Lever to trustees for the purpose of maintaining a library at or in the school-house of the "best sort of school-books" and other profitable books.

In 1827 there was a small collection of books in a room over the school, but few additions had been made for some years. In the minute book of the governors, under 27th May, 1661, is the following entry: "Paid to Mr. Marsden for a book called Richardson's *Photocryden*, which is for use of schole, 6d." A list of some fifty volumes belonging to the school in 1735 is entered in the minute book for that year; these books were chained in the library. Scholarships were founded here in 1831 by the gift of £2,000 from John Popplewell and £1,500 from his two sisters.

Liverpool

John Crosse, the founder of this school, was the son of Richard Crosse, of Liverpool, and by his will, bearing date 15th May, 1515, he left property to endow the chantry at the altar of St. Katherine in the chapel of Liverpool, and he made it a condition that the incumbents of the chantry were bound to teach and keep a grammar school, which was to be free to all scholars of the name of Crosse and poor children; others, it appears, were to pay a fee. After the dissolution of the chantries a

payment of £5 13s. 3d. was appropriated to the schoolmaster, and upon the report of Commissioners, appointed by Letters Patent, dated 30th October, 1565, it was directed that the grammar school should be allowed to continue as theretofore it had been.

Queen Elizabeth, minding that the chapel and school should continue, authorized the mayor and burgesses to appoint a discreet and learned person to be schoolmaster, and the receiver of the honour of Lancaster was ordered to pay yearly the salary before named. The municipal records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contain several references to this school, from which it appears that all the expenses of maintenance were paid by the Corporation. The site of the original school-house is not known, but an order in the vestry book of St. Nicholas' Church for 1745 is believed to refer to the building then used, which is described as being adjoining the church, and in such a ruinous condition and so great a nuisance that it was ordered to be pulled down.

At this date (1765) the cost of the school was £62 a year. The master taught the children of freemen gratuitously, but demanded from others such a fee as the mayor should order. The last place used as a grammar school was a building belonging to the Blue-coat Hospital, for which a rent of £20 a year was paid. In 1808 the master (Mr. Baines) died, and the school was discontinued.

Leigh

The early history of this school is obscure, but it was probably established early in the seventeenth century, as William Crompton, who was born at Leigh in 1599, is said to have been educated at the grammar school of his native town. In 1641-2 we find a Mr. Worthington named as schoolmaster of Leigh, and in January, 1655-56, John Battersbie held a similar position. It certainly had been some time in existence in 1655, for in the

January of that year John Ranicars, of Atherton, made his will, and by it he charged his lands in Leigh with an annual sum of £5 to be paid to the feoffees of the free school towards its maintenance. Another endowment of £6 per annum was given by Richard Bradshaw, of Pennington, in addition to the gift of a house to keep the school in. In 1719 a new school-house was built by subscription, instigated by the then master, Richard Pilling. In 1825 the Charity Commissioners reported that there was a good school in Leigh, in which seven children were taught free and about thirty-five paid fees.

A library was formed in this school about the year 1726 by Ralph Pilling, the head-master. What remains of this library is kept in a cupboard in the school-house, and consists of one hundred and twenty volumes.

Wigan

In the parish of Wigan was the priory of Upholland, to which belonged the ancient church, which, after the Dissolution, became a chapel under the parish church, and probably in pre-Reformation days a school of some kind existed in connection with this religious house. Before the close of the sixteenth century a grammar school had been erected in the town of Wigan, as it appears by a deed executed in 1596 that certain land in Aspull, named Backsham, held by James Banks, of Winstanley, Esq., was conveyed to Francis Sherrington, who, in the year following, conveyed it to the mayor and others as trustees for the grammar school, and from which property arose an income of £2 13s. 3d. a year; and in another deed, dated 12th October, 39 Eliz. (1597), reference is made to lands then belonging to the school. We know that in 1615-16 the school was situate in Scholes, near to the river Douglas, and was built upon waste land there, for which a rent of 4s. per annum was paid to the lord by the

Mayor and Corporation, and that in 1628 James Scott, the bailiff, and Roger Wood, the sergeant, went to the Bishop of Chester, on behalf of Thomas Banks, the Mayor, to request that the children from the grammar school might be taught in the belfry of the church whilst the school was being repaired. Consent to this was given. One of the earliest benefactors to this school was Hugh Bullock, citizen and haberdasher of London, who, by his will (proved 25th July, 1618), gave to the Mayor and Corporation a yearly rent charge of £20 issuing out of his "corner messuage called or known by the name of the Chalice and the Sheppheard, in Tame Street, in the parish of St. Botolph, nere Billingsgate, London," to the intent that it should be used for the increase of the wages and maintenance of the schoolmaster of Wigan, who was to teach children of the poor "in gramer and Latin tongue." Concerning this will Roger Bullock, nephew of Hugh Bullock, consulted the bishop. This Roger is doubtless the man whose will was proved at Chester in 1633, he being described as of Wigan, gentleman. The property in Tame Street was destroyed in the fire of London in 1666.

The parish register about this time contains several references to the masters: 1599, 14th March, was buried "Isaac Tilman, of Wigan, Scholem"; 1621, 22nd March, buried "William Sherlock, of Walgate, Scholm. of Wigan, and curate."

According to Bishop Gastrell, in 1719 the total income of the trust amounted to £48 8s. 4d.

In 1723 Sir John Bridgeman, Bart., contributed £100, which, together with subscriptions from the inhabitants, went to the purchase of a plot of land and a house in Mill Gate, and the erection of a school thereon. The governors of the school became a body corporate under an Act of Parliament, passed 52 George III. (1812), which recites that under the old statutes Greek and Latin were

to be taught in the school, and that the then net revenue was £125, exclusive of a dwelling-house and gardens worth £29 4s. Shortly afterwards the estates belonging to the trust were sold, and the money invested to the advantage of the school. At the beginning of the last century there were ninety-five pupils, of whom forty-five learnt Latin. One shilling entrance was claimed for "firing and a cock-penny," which was applied to the purchase of books for the library, which was kept in a room above the school. The library was founded by the Rev. Henry Mason, B.D., a native of Wigan, where he was born in 1573. He was the ejected Rector of St. Andrew Undershaft, in London, and afterwards retired to Wigan, where he died in 1647 (will proved at Chester). During his lifetime he gave his library to the grammar school, which was so much appreciated by the Mayor and Corporation that in 1664 one of the statutes of the school provided for its preservation and management, yet at the present time no catalogue is known to exist. There, however, still remain about two hundred volumes, but mostly modern, only nine having been printed before Henry Mason's death.

Prescot (and Eccleston)

The date and particulars concerning the foundation of the school are wanting. There were three schools in the parish, viz., in the town of Prescot, in Farnworth (see "Old Widnes," Vol. II.), and in Eccleston, and it was for the erection and maintenance of a school in the latter place that in 1597 James Kendrick gave £300, on condition that Edward Eccleston gave one acre of land and £100. In 1627 an attempt was made to get this money transferred to the school at Prescot, but apparently without success.

In 1669 the land had not been conveyed to the school-wardens, who had, however, received £218 16s. 3d.; but no school had been erected, and it was ordered by

the Court of Chancery that the balance of £300 and the acre of land should be conveyed to Thomas Malbone and James Gleast on behalf of the township of Eccleston, and that a school should be erected there. A house used as a dwelling-house in 1828 is supposed to have been originally used as a school. Its life was not a long one, as about 1770 it was discontinued, and the premises were let by the Eccleston family. After the death of Thomas Eccleston, another suit in Chancery was instituted, and a claim set up for £506 as due to the trustees. This claim was allowed (in 1827), and new trustees were appointed. It is doubtful if the school ever attained to the dignity of a grammar school, although Bishop Gastrell returned it as a grammar school. It was subsequently re-established. The grammar school in the town of Prescot was erected probably shortly before 1600, as in that year Richard Hawarden, of Whiston, in the parish of Prescot, by will devised a close of land, called Barton's Hey, for the benefit of the free school of Prescot for the maintenance of the schoolmaster, who was to pay yearly out of the income to the churchwardens 6s. 8d., to be bestowed upon the poor of Whiston yearly upon Good Friday. The benefit of this school formerly extended to the townships of Prescot, Whiston and Rainhill, Sutton, Rainford and Eccleston, Windle and Parr.

A new school was built by subscription in 1759. In 1828 the total income of the trust property amounted to £159 17s. 4d.

Farnworth

(See article on "Old Widnes," Vol. II.)

Ormskirk

We find no evidence of there being a grammar school here before 1610, when an inquisition taken in that year in connection with a suit in the Court of Chancery shows

that previous to that time Henry Ascroft and others had given £136 11s. 8d. for the maintenance of a free grammar school.

There was, however, a school here in 1590, as the parish register for that year records the burial of Robert Hunter, schoolmaster. By order of the Court of Chancery, under the proceedings before referred to, trustees were appointed to manage the school, the first of whom were to be the Earl of Derby, the Vicar of Ormskirk, His Majesty's preacher at Ormskirk, and Sir Cuthbert Halsall, Knight, and sixteen others. The regulations of the school ordered that a chest be provided with three locks, in which all the documents were to be kept, and the custodian of the chest was to be the town's constable; the governors, or any twelve of them, were to appoint the master and usher. On 4th May, 1639, another decree in Chancery was made touching the appointment of Hugh Rose as master, and it was found that he was not duly elected. At the same time the number of governors was reduced to fifteen. The parish registers record the burial on 27th March, 1623, of Thomas Ambrose, schoolmaster, who was no doubt a relative of the Rev. Richard Ambrose, Vicar of Ormskirk, who, by will, dated 2nd August, 1612, left to this school "£4 already laid out" and 40s. more.

Other sums were from time to time added to the stock, and in 1825 the annual rents amounted to £138 15s., when the Charity Commissioners reported that the buildings were very old and ill adapted for a school.

Winwick

This school was founded before the year 1548 by Gaulter Legh, who gave an annuity of £10 for its maintenance, which was augmented by a like sum from Sir Peter Legh, of Lyme, in 1618, who at the same time, at his own cost, built a house, which was to be used as

a grammar school for the town and parish of Winwick. Sir Peter Legh died 17th February, 1636. Gaulter Legh was not, as has been often stated, the great uncle of Sir Peter, but a somewhat more distant relative. Another of this family, Peter Legh, in 1723 secured to the school an annuity of £24, which was to be paid by half-yearly payments in the south porch of the parish church. This sum appears to have been in substitution of the £20 before named, and not an entire addition to it. A small endowment of £5 a year was given by Sir Gilbert Ireland, of Hutt, Knight, whose will was proved in 1675. In 1825 the income of the school was only £34.

Great Crosby

John Harrison, citizen and merchant tailor of London, founded this school, and by his will, dated 5th May, 1618, he bequeathed £500 and certain estates to the Merchant Tailors' Company for the use of this trust and other charitable purposes. The effect of this was to provide £30 a year for the master, £20 to the usher, and £5 for repairs of the building. After the fire of London in 1666 the usher's £20 was for a time withdrawn, as some of the houses on the site from which the rent was secured were burnt. In 1799 the Tailors' Company purchased a small plot of land, which was added to the school premises. The master was obliged to teach Latin and grammar gratis. The management was in the hands of a committee of the Merchant Tailors' Company, which, on visiting the school in 1629, made an order that "for the better encouragement and enabling the scholars there in their learning, dictionaries and other books may be bought and provided, to be sent thither to remain openly in the schools for the common use of the schools." In consequence of this order about a score of books were ordered, and in 1675 it was reported that there was in the school "a very small library; (but) noe manuscripts." This has, however, now disappeared.

Warrington

This school was founded by Sir Thomas Boteler, Knight, of Bewsey, who, by his will, dated 16th August, 12 Henry VIII. (1520), declared that he delivered to John, the Abbot of Whalley, five hundred marks in gold to the intent that his executor should therewith purchase land and tenements of the annual value of £10 net, and therewith to found a "free grammar scolle in Werynton."

He further provided that his heirs from time to time should appoint "an honeste prest, groundely lernede in grammar," as master of the school. Subsequently he purchased land for this purpose, and added a codicil to his will (27th February, 1522) to the effect that certain feoffees (named) should stand seized thereof to use for the foundation of the school. He died in 1522, and was succeeded by his only son, Thomas Boteler, who carried out his father's intention as regards the school, and by an indenture, bearing date 16th April, 1526, to which he was a party, and Sir Richard Taylor, clerk and schoolmaster, was another, "did ordain, establish, and make" a free grammar school. In this deed a house in Bag Lane, and a croft adjoining, were set apart for the master.

Statutes were duly drawn out for the government of the school. Whittington's grammar (or other grammar) was to be used. Any scholar learning grammar was to pay fourpence a year, viz., after Christmas a cock-penny, and in the three other quarters one potation-penny, and for this he should make a drinking for all the scholars. Children requiring to be taught "their a b c and primers" were taught by one of the scholars. For some years, at a much later period, the Rector of Warrington acted as head-master, but in 1810, by an order of the High Court of Chancery, it was decided that the office of schoolmaster was

incompatible with that of rector. This foundation received several other properties, and its income in 1827 was nearly £600 a year.

Halsall

Edward Halsall, sometime Chamberlain of the Exchequer at Chester, who died in 1593, gave lands and tenements in Eccleston and elsewhere to feoffees in trust, that £13 6s. 8d. a year should be used for the maintenance of a free grammar school at Halsall. The school was built in the churchyard, but there is no evidence that it was more than an ordinary free school, at which twelve poor boys were, on nomination of the select vestry of Halsall, taught free.

Upholland

This school was founded and endowed by Robert Walthew, of Walthew House, in Pemberton, Gent., on 22nd March, 1668. The endowment consisted of a house and land in Holland of the value of £9 a year. In 1705 the right of nominating the master was vested in three trustees, one of whom was Robert Markland, whose ancestor, Ralph Markland, married the daughter of the founder. In 1823 the annual income arising from the school property amounted to £65 18s. 3d.

Leyland

This was one of the old chantry schools which was founded some time before 1544, as in that year the Charity Commissioners reported that Thurstan Taylour was the incumbent of the chantry of St. Nicholas in the church of Leyland, and, according to the foundation thereof, the incumbent had (besides his other duties) to "kepe one fre grammar skoyle" in the church. The school was still kept in 1548, when the master's wage was £3 17s. 10d. This endowment was confiscated when the chantry was dissolved, but the sum of £3 17s. 10d.

was guaranteed for the teacher of the school. Peter Burscough, in 1627, gave £100 to the school, and other benefactions followed, one being £250, bequeathed in 1718 by the Rev. Thomas Armetriding, Vicar of Leyland. He was the son of John Armetriding, of Euxton, and married Margaret, eldest daughter of Major Henry ffarrington, of Werden. In 1746 the total sum invested was £413, and in 1825 the total income was only £30 a year.

Penworthan

Christopher Walton, of Little Hoole, by deed, dated 22nd September, 1552, conveyed lands to trustees to the intent that the receipts therefrom should be used towards the maintenance of a person sufficiently learned in the science of grammar to keep a grammar school and instruct children in "the Absay, catechism, primer, accidence, pervely." No school had then been built, and there is no record as to when one was erected; but in 22 James I. (1624-25) an inquisition was held about misemployed money "given towards a grammar school" here. It was probably for a long period only an elementary school. The land, etc., forming its endowment, worth £2 13s. 6d. a year, now yield a rental of over £600.

Standish

This school was founded by Mrs. Mary Langton, who, by her will, dated 13th February, 1603, left £300 to trustees, who were to purchase lands for the maintenance of a free school in Standish. In 1651 it was called a grammar school, and new trustees were appointed. Certain statutes for the government of this school were drawn up, which directed that the schoolmaster was to be a graduate in one of the Universities, and that certain Latin and Greek books were to be used in the school. The endowments of the school were very small, and it is now only used as an elementary school

Preston

Before the close of the fourteenth century Preston had become a town of no mean importance, and there was at this date a school in Preston which was under ecclesiastical control, and was probably a free school.

In 1358 occurred one of those riots which were so common in those days, and which, in this case, arose out of a proclamation being made as to the pardon of a man called Nicholas Starkey, and resulted in a number of "evil disposed" people making an attack on the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, one of them being John de Broughton, schoolmaster of Preston. Richard Marshall, clerk, was appointed to the mastership on 5th January, 1399-1400, which position he was to hold during the pleasure of the Archdeacon of Ripon. Another master (Thomas Preston) received a letter dimissory from Archbishop Neville, dated 20th May, 1474. Shortly after this, Helen Hoghton, widow of Henry Hoghton, of Hoghton, Esq., founded a chantry in the parish church, and although the endowment of it only amounted to £3 2s. 4d., it was made a condition that the priest celebrating there was "to be sufficiently lerned in grammar" to teach in the "fre grammar skole" of Preston; and in 1548, when the chantry was dissolved, this condition was still complied with. The lands which constituted this endowment were seized by the Crown and leased by William Kenyon. The Mayor of Preston in 1554-55 appealed to the Duchy Court against this, urging that for one hundred years past there had been a free school here, and that during that period a sum of five marks had been paid out of these lands towards the maintenance thereof.

The appeal was not successful. The incumbent of this chantry at the time of its dissolution was Nicholas Banastre. In 1548 he still held that office, and was forty-one years old. In 1561 he was the schoolmaster,

but was described as "a recusant at large," restricted to the county of Lancaster, the "town of Preston excepted." Strype called him a rank Jesuit and an "unlearned schoolmaster." The Bishop of Chester in 1567-68 reported that one of the priests, who had been refused the ministry because of "the contempt and evil opinion," was this same Nicholas Banastre. The Rev. Peter Carter, M.A., was the master near the end of the century. He was the author of Annotations in *Dialecta Johanne Setoni*, published in 1572. He was buried at Preston in September, 1590.

After the failure to reclaim the old endowment, the Mayor and Corporation evidently took upon themselves the payment of the master's salary, and in 1612 the two bailiffs were required each to find £6 13s. 4d. towards his stipend; and, in consequence, they were released from the ancient custom whereby they were called upon at Easter in each year to provide bread, cheese, beer, and ale for the Mayor, burgesses, and strangers. In 1650 one of the bailiffs refused to pay, "to the great affront of the Corporation," whereupon he was ordered to find the money for the master, or, in default, £10 was to be levied on his goods. In 1663 Bartholomew Worthington, by will, left to his wife a close of land in Broadgate (which he held for the residue of ninety-nine years) for her life, and after her decease the income to be used to augment the wages of the master or masters of the grammar school. Soon after this school was built in Stonygate, the Corporation purchasing the freehold of the site in 28 Charles II. (1676-77).

At the gild of 1682, as the procession went through the town, headed by the Mayor with his guard of soldiers, at the church gate barrs and the Fishergate barrs halts were made and addresses delivered by boys of the grammar school, one of the speeches being made in Latin, a custom which still obtains. The Corporation

Records show that in 1690 a master's house adjoining the school-house was built, the dimensions of which were eight yards by six yards. In 1823 the income from the property was £55, and there were then thirty-six boys in the school, sons of freemen paying no fees.

Kirkham

This ancient town, which may be called the capital of the Fylde Country, had its grammar school certainly before the end of the sixteenth century, as in 1551 Thomas Clifton, of Westby, Esq., by his will, bequeathed 20s. "towards the grammer scole." At a meeting of the thirty sworn men held on the 19th September, 1585, it was ordered that 40s. be paid to the schoolmaster, which was to be deducted from the clerk's wages, and that four of the thirty sworn men were to take possession of the school-house in the right of the whole parish, which was to keep it in repair. It is not clear that the school was actually built before Thomas Clifton died; it may only have been that a scheme to establish it was in view. If this were so, it took over thirty years to bring it to a practical issue. On the other hand, during the period between 1551 and 1585 a building of some kind—perhaps a cottage—may have served the purpose, for at this same meeting Richard Wilkins, "*now* schoolmaster," was appointed as teacher. The thirty-men had no idea of paying too much out of the rates to the master, so in 1589 they decided that the 10s. a year payable from the chapelry of Goosnargh to Kirkham should in future be paid to the schoolmaster, and for every burial (except one dying in childbed) he should have such sum as the thirty-men should agree, and also such sum as had heretofore been paid for holy bread loaf,[1] which was equal to every house 3d. every Sunday successively for the repairs of the school. The school

[1] Money ordered in first Prayer-book of Edward VI. to be paid for costs and charges for bread and wine.

was a thatched building, and in 1610 "a good deal of money" was spent on repairing the roof, and, at the same time, desks and forms were ordered.

The school to which the previous records refer was evidently soon found to be unsuited, or too small to meet the requirements of the town, and in 1621 one Isabel Birley, wife of Thomas Birley, and daughter of John Coulbron, an ale-house keeper all her life, came into the church where the thirty-men of the parish were assembled, having in her apron £30, which she asked them to accept towards the erection of a new school in which poor children were to be taught gratis. This woman's enthusiasm led to a general effort being made in the parish, which resulted in a total sum of £170 being subscribed; and no doubt with it a new school was built, of which Thomas Armitstead was appointed master, a position which he held until 1628, when a Mr. Sokell, a Roman Catholic, was appointed, whereupon an appeal was made to the Bishop of Chester complaining that certain gentlemen of the parish, being recusants, had intruded themselves to manage the school.

The bishop ordered that a meeting of the parishioners should be held, at which six or nine honest men should be chosen to be feoffees, whereof one-third should represent the town and the two other parts the parishioners generally, of which one should be Isabel Wilding's husband (she had married John Wilding). But the disputes were not entirely settled, and in 1636 a Hugh Whaley was appointed master, but as he was said to be a recusant, the vicar (Edward Fleetwood) locked the school door and refused to let him enter, as he considered him unfit for the post in a place infested with Popery, and more likely to corrupt children than instruct them in the Protestant religion. As, however, he was a communicant, the bishop, on appeal, confirmed

the appointment. After the Civil Wars the feoffees purchased the rents of the King's revenue, called the chantry rents of Kirkham and St. Michael's, which were worth £11 8s. a year, and another out of the parish of Blackburn valued at £10 a year. On the Restoration the purchase was disputed, and most of it lost to the school.

Henry Colborne, scrivener, of London, a native of Kirkham, by will, dated 7th August, 1655, directed his trustees to purchase a lease of the rectory of Kirkham, and invest the profits for the first sixteen years (except £100 per annum) in lands to maintain schools, the property to be invested in the Company of Drapers. In 1673 the purchase was completed, and it was agreed that the township of Kirkham should keep the building in repair, and that the Company of Drapers should have the appointment of the master.

The Rev. James Barker, Rector of Thrandeston, in the county of Suffolk, by will, bearing date 7th November, 1670, left money for the purchase of land which should yield £30 a year, which was to be settled on ten trustees, to be nominated by the bailiffs and chief burgesses of Kirkham. The master was to receive £10 a year out of this sum; of the remainder, £12 was to be for an exhibition to one of the Universities for such poor scholar as should be admitted thereto, provided that he was born in the parish and "bred and sent from the free school"; £5 out of the £30 was to be used for binding apprentices; the balance of £3 was to pay for a dinner for the trustees at their annual meeting, when they were to "enquire concerning the demeanure of the scholler at the University, and if they shall be riotously given or disordered or debauched they shall withdraw the exhibition." Acting on this, lands and tenements were purchased at Nether Methop, in Westmorland, for £530.

In 1720 the timber sold off this land realized £630, and in 1813 the entire estate was sold for £11,500.

A new school was built in 1809. In 1869 the gross annual rent received from the school property was £622.

We have it on record that between 1635 and 1643 "many ingenious young men were so brought forward (at this school) that they went to the Universities and proved good schollers for their tymes." A list of exhibitions since 1675 has been preserved. Most of the head-masters were clergymen.

Dr. Grimbalderton bequeathed £400 to augment the teachers' salary, and also directed the trustees under his will to sell certain rents and profits and employ the money to the buying of lexicons, dictionaries, grammars, and other classical school-books for the use of this school. The income from this source was £7 a year, which was not at the time expended, as it was said most of the parents of the boys were able to pay for school-books.

St. Michaels-on-Wyre

John Butler, of Rawcliffe, died 28th April, 25 Henry VIII. (1533), and by deed, dated 3rd December, 1528, he founded a chantry in the church of St. Michaels-on-Wyre, dedicated to Saint Katherine, and the continuation Commissioners, by warrant, dated 11th August, 1548, reported that a grammar school had been continually kept in the parish by the revenues of the chantry of St. Katherine, and they directed that it should still continue, and that William Harrison, the then schoolmaster, should have for his wage, £5 10s. 0d. The Commissioners of Edward VI. also stated that one of the duties of the chantry priest was to "teache the grammar skole." The chantry land passed, after the Dissolution, to Henry Butler, of Rawcliffe, who in 1606 was a recusant, and probably the school had before then been given up.

Blackburn

A chantry, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, was founded in Blackburn parish church by Thomas, the second Earl of Derby, by deed, dated at Lathom, 6th April, Henry VIII. (1514), by the terms of which the parishioners purchased certain freehold lands in Yorkshire, and the Earl of Derby settled an estate called "Eggye-heze," in Burnley, of the yearly value of 15s., as an endowment.

The first chantry priest was to be Sir Edward Bolton, and his successors were to be "able secular" priests, if such could "be gotten," as were "expert and could sing both pricke song and plain songe," and had "a sight in Descant and shall teach a fre song schole" in Blackburn; in addition, he should perform all the usual duties of a chantry priest, and also maintain one side of the "quere" (choir).

In 1534 Thomas Burgess was the priest, and the income from the endowment amounted to 66s. 8d. a year. The Chantry Commissioners in 1546 reported that he still held the office, and he did "celebrate and manetene the quere every holie day," and also taught "gramer and plane songe" in the "free skole" according to the statutes of the foundation. The net income was then 108s. 8d.

Soon afterwards the chantry was dissolved, and a pension of £4 7s. 4d. was made payable to the schoolmaster on his continuing the school. This sum now represented the whole income for the school, and, in consequence, an application was made by the inhabitants to Queen Elizabeth to grant a charter for a new free grammar school to be established.

This was granted by Letters Patent, dated 8th August, 1567. The school was to be called the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth, and to be for the "education and instruction of boys and youths

in grammar"; the governing body to consist of "fifty men of the more discreet and honest of the inhabitants or freeholders" of the "vil and parish," who were to be a body corporate and have a common seal. Eighteen years after this charter was granted a claim was made in the Duchy Court by the governors concerning certain rights and interests in copyhold lands which had been appropriated by the Crown, from which it appears that the pension of £4 7s. 4d. had never been demanded or paid, and, ultimately, arrears were allowed, the result being that £60 was declared to be due to the school. This was left to accumulate until it reached £100, when the parishioners subscribed £250, and with the total sum an annuity of £20 a year was purchased. Amongst the school statutes under the date of 1597 are the following: After the ringing of a bell soon after six in the morning, the "Schoole Mr. and usher and their schollars" shall assemble for prayers. No scrivener shall teach (in) school times "without urgent cause" oftener than once in the year for one month. Amongst the books to be used occur "The principles of arithmetick, geometrie, and cosmographie, with some Introducktion into the sphere, are p'fitable."

Many subsequent gifts were made to the school fund. In 1608, under the will of John Asley, £80 17s. 6d. was received; Sir Edward Assheton gave £90, and other sums at various times were received from William Sudell and John Sudell. In 1591 Sir Robert Cecil, in his report on the Papists in Lancashire, states that there is "no house in Lancashire worse than Mr. Yates', the schoolmaster at Blackburn, whose wife, daughter, and maid are recusants, and although the maid has known to have done much hurt amongst the scholars, he is yet suffered to keep her." The school income in 1826 was £120 a year. There were then about thirty scholars, who were

all taught free, but each paid a small sum voluntarily at Shrovetide under the name of cock-penny.

Whalley

Over the western gateway of Whalley Abbey still remain the ruins of a large room known as the "old school house," where no doubt the monks instructed scholars in Latin and music to fit them for the duties of the monastery, and from time to time students were sent to the University, their expenses whilst there being defrayed by the house. In pre-Reformation times village schools were often found in a church porch or even in a chantry, and there is a tradition that after the Reformation this room was used for a free school. Be this as it may, it is clear that a grammar school existed here prior to 1548, when it was certified to the Court of Exchequer that such a school had been continually kept, and that the schoolmaster received for his wages £13 6s. 8d. a year, whereupon "William Thulan (Thewler) was appointed schoolmaster." In 1570 he was succeeded by Peter Carter. The salary was to be paid out of the Exchequer. The Charity Commissioners, 1815-1835, reported that this sum, less 18s. 6d. for fees, was then paid by the Receiver of the Crown Rents. William Thewler was buried at Whalley, 14th August, 1574, and is described as "Ludi Magist," although he appears to have resigned in favour of Peter Carter, who was married to Elitia Ratcliffe on 10th May, 1573, and is also described as "Ludi Magist."

In 1771 the school stock consisted of £10, given by John Chewe, and £70 by Sir Edmund Assheton, to which was added, in 1813, £468 left by John Read, of Knightsbridge, London. This school has a part of the thirteen scholarships in Brazenose College founded by Dean Nowell (see Middleton, page 158).

A school and a house for the master were built by subscription in 1725. In 1825 the Rev. Richard Noble

was the head-master, and also Vicar of Whalley. At that time there were only twelve day scholars, seven of whom were taught Latin.

Clitheroe

This school was founded by Philip and Mary by Charter, dated at Hampton Court, 29th August, 1554, at the petition of the inhabitants of the town and many of "the whole country neighbournes" for the erection of a grammar school there; and it was thereby ordained that certain lands were to be set apart for its maintenance, and that its management should be by "six of the most discrete and approved of the towne of Clitheroe and parish of Whalley." The endowment consisted of the Rectory of Almonbury, in Yorkshire, which had lately belonged to Jesus College of Rotherham, and the advowson of the vicarage there, and certain other lands and messuages late in the possession of the dissolved charity of St. Nicholas, in Skipton, in the county of York, excepting all tenths parcel of the rectory issuing out of the town of Woodsome and Ferneley. The endowment was estimated to be worth £40 and 20 pence per annum. In 1721 the income of the school property amounted to £75 7s. 6d. a year, out of which £40 was paid to the master and £20 to the usher. In the beginning of the seventeenth century a dispute arose as to the appointment of governors, which continued for some years in the Court of Chancery, but which was finally settled by a decree, from which Bishop Bridgement drew up a series of statutes (dated 2nd May, 1622), under which the school was to be managed.

In 1825 the income from the estates of the school amounted to £452 a year. The scholars were instructed in the classics and in reading and writing—the voluntary payment of cock-penny by the parents of the boys was

still in vogue. The number of scholars was between seventy and eighty. Subsequently a fund of £1,400 was raised to found two exhibitions to Oxford and Cambridge—one of £40, the other of £30.

The first school-house stood in the churchyard, but in 1834 it was removed to York Street.

Captain James King, R.N., was the son of the Rev. James King, D.D., Vicar of Clitheroe, and was educated at the grammar school. He was the friend and companion of Cook in his third voyage round the world. At the age of twelve he left school to enter the navy. He died in October, 1784.

Burnley

A grammar school possibly existed here in pre-Reformation times, but if not it certainly was founded shortly afterwards, as the Chantry Commissioners of Edward VI. reported that although they had not seen the proofs, they believed that certain lands formed the endowment of the chantry dedicated to St. Peter in Burnley, of which Gilbert Fairbanke was the first incumbent; and in 6 Edward VI. (1552-53) the Manorial Court of Higham confirmed the title to these lands to the use of Gilbert Fairbanke for life, and after his death for the use of a schoolmaster and for the maintenance of a grammar school in Burnley.

The burial of "Sr. Gilbert Fairbank, chantree Preeste," on the 29th January, 1565-66, occurs in the parish registers. Probably he was master of the school when he died. At this time there was a small building on the west side of the churchyard which belonged to the chantry priest of St. Mary's altar, and a portion of it was used as the school-house until 1693, when a new one was erected.

One of the early benefactors was Richard Woodruffe, of Burnley, who, in April, 1556, granted to Roger

Habergham and others a rent charge of three shillings and fourpence a year arising out of land in Barnoldswick-in-Craven for the use of this school.

Another endowment was confirmed by the Halmot Court of Ightenhill, whereby John Aspdene, clerk, executor of Geoffry Wilkinson, surrendered to certain trustees a messuage, barn, garden, and land, the income from which was, after the death of Gilbert Fairbanke, clerk, to be devoted to the support and maintenance of the school founded in Burnley, and for a schoolmaster to teach children and youths from time to time for ever; and in 1577 an annual rental out of a house called Alfrethes, in Farnham, co. Essex, was granted to John Ingham, of Whalley, for the same purpose. Dean Nowell, master of Brazenose College, Oxford, about the year 1570, founded thirteen exhibitions, for six years, of £3 6s. 8d. each, for boys from Middleton Grammar School (see Middleton, page 158), but in case that school could not supply that number of scholars, preference was to be given to Burnley and Whalley. Ultimately these were all lost for want of candidates.

The Rev. Oates Sagar, Vicar of Warmfield, in Yorkshire, and a native of Burnley, by will, towards the close of the sixteenth century, bequeathed to the school "five marke lands, lying in Ellerthorpe and Wakefield, that is to say, in the tenure of Roger Beckel, 37s. 8d.; in the tenure of Old Dawson, 8s.; and in the tenure of his son, 4s.; the residue lacking of the five marke" to be taken out of his land in Wakefield. Five marks would be £3 6s. 8d.

In 1590 the then feoffees of the school surrendered property in Alventhorpe to William Sagar for a lease of two hundred years, and in 1647 his son and others, for a consideration of £79, surrendered all the estate (except the £3 6s. 8d. payable to the master) to Thomas Aspden, at that time master of the school, for the rest

of the term. In 1825 the rent received by the trustees from this estate was £44 per annum.

When the Rev. John Raws was appointed master in 1797, he found that £2 2s. a year was paid by some of the scholars in lieu of Shrovetide cock-penny. One of Mr. Raws' pupils was the late Canon Raines, the well-known antiquary. Philip Gilbert Hammerton also received his early education here.

Until the early part of the last century the old custom of on a certain day "barring" out the master obtained. So late as 1888 a master in Dalston, in Cumberland, applied to the School Board for permission to alter the day of closing the school, in order that he should "be better able effectually to put a stop to the old barbarous custom of 'barring out.'"

There was another curious custom in Burnley, which gave a prescriptive right to the elder pupils to stop the bride and bridegroom on the exit from the church and demand a fee, which was never refused.

An interesting feature about this school is its library, which was founded in 1728 under the will of the Rev. Henry Halstead, Rector of Stansfield, by which he left all his library of books to be "used and taken care of by the Protestant master and feoffees" of the school. In 1842 the library consisted of one thousand and forty-six volumes, some of which are of considerable value; a full account of them is obtained in vol. vii. of the Chetham Society's publications (new series).

Lancaster

There was a school here at an early period, as by a deed, without date, but of the thirteenth century, one of the witnesses was Thomas de Kyrkeham, master of the school at Lancaster; and in 1384, Emma, wife of Thomas, the schoolmaster of Lancaster, appeared as defendant at an assize of *mort. d'ancestor*.

From an Oil Painting] LANCASTER OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN 1682. *[In the possession of Mr. T. Preston.*

One of the early benefactors of the county town was John Gardyner, who founded a chantry and an almshouse there, and in the year 1472 established the grammar school, and endowed it with six marks per annum arising from Newton Mill. His will was proved at York, 12th September, 1483, and his feoffees were seised of the manor of Baybrig and divers lands in other places. The first master was William Baxetonden, who received one hundred shillings a year, in addition to the six marks.

According to the terms of a deed, dated 1st March, 1500, made between the surviving trustee under the will of John Gardyner and the Mayor of Lancaster, the nomination of the schoolmaster became vested in the Corporation.

From a commission issued to the Surveyor of Woods, dated 22nd May, 1571, it appears that the mill which formed the endowment of the school was by "a greate rage of waters utterly decayed," and that no profits therefore could be paid to the school, and, consequently, no school was then kept. After this there is no mention of it until 1615, when Randal Carter, of "the parish of St. Savior, in Sowthwarke, in the county of Surrey, and citizen and tallow-channdeler of London," by his will, dated 18th April in that year, left an annuity of £10 a year "towardes the mayntenance of an usher in the free schoole of Lancaster." This was made a charge upon land, etc., in Whitecross Street, without Cripplegate, in London, and was regularly paid to the Corporation of Lancaster until 1886, when the land was conveyed to the Metropolitan Board of Works for £328 7s. 2d., which was placed in the hands of the Charity Commissioners.

In 1682 the school was rebuilt, the old building being much out of repair, too small and dark. At that time the head-master received £30 a year and the usher £15.

It was not until 1768 that a writing-master was appointed, at a salary of £10 a year.

According to the report of the Corporation in 1824, there were then sixty-four boys at the school, of whom forty-six were sons of freemen. The ancient Shrovetide cock-penny was at this time given up, and, instead of it, the usher was to be paid 10s. a quarter for each boy under his care; for each boy in the lowest benches under the head-master's care, 15s. was to be paid, and for the boys on the upper benches, 20s. a quarter. It was also resolved that there should be no gratuitous education for freemen's sons or others, "there being ample provision for that kind of education in the national and other schools." The head-master of the grammar school was always appointed by the Mayor and Council. In 1825 the school-house adjoined the churchyard on the west side, and on it was the date 1682, and in a room over the porch was the library, which was originally established by the Corporation in that year, when it consisted of about fifty volumes. According to the rules made in 1802, the usher was to be the librarian. At one time this library consisted of over three hundred volumes, but prior to 1884 the collection was dispersed.

The late Queen founded here three scholarships of £30 each and a prize of £10, in lieu of £100 formerly given as a Queen's prize at the races. Other scholarships have since been given. The two most famous scholars of this school were William Whewell and Richard Owen.

Cartmel

When the priory church of Cartmel became the parish church, or soon afterwards, scholars were taught in it, as appears from a document dated 16th August, 1696, which recites that "there hath been time out of mind the use of £60 given to a schoolmaster formerly teaching in the church, which has since been continued

to the grammar school." The same paper states that the gate-house of the old priory was purchased by the inhabitants for a school-house about the year 1624. The school was managed by the church authority known as the "twenty-four men," and in 1619 it is referred to as "the free school." In 1635 the fees per quarter for grammarians were 8d., but for the younger children no charge was made. At Shrovetide the usual cock-penny was paid to the master.

In 1689 Henry Bigland, of Bigland, left £400 for this school; he, at the time of his death, was a merchant of Hamburg. During the last century the school property was greatly increased. The Charity Commissioners, in their report (A.D. 1815-35), state that there were then thirty-four free boys in the school, besides fourteen ex-parishioners, who board in the master's house; there were not many children of the poor attended, as the instruction began where their education generally ends. The school has maintained a high reputation; amongst its *alumni* was Edward Law, D.D., Bishop of Carlisle.

Bishop Gastrell says that to this school belonged a public library, but this is not correct; the valuable collection of books now in the church was originally given to the church, as is made clear by an entry in the churchwardens' accounts under the date of 14th July, 1629, whereby it was ordered that the churchwardens' seat should be enlarged in order that the "books given unto the church may be more convientlie laid and chained, to remain there according to the directions of the doners."

Hawkshead

Hawkshead was made a separate parish in 1578, when probably some kind of school was provided for the children of the Dalesmen, but of this no record has been preserved.

The grammar school was founded by Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York (see "Some Early Lancashire Authors," Vol. II.). The Letters Patent of Queen Elizabeth, dated 10th April in the twenty-seventh year of her reign (1585), are still preserved at the grammar school. By this document the Queen, at the request of the Archbishop of York, granted that a free grammar school of Edwin Archbishop of York should be founded for the good education and instruction of boys and youths of Hawkshead, the first governors of the revenues of the school to be Samuel Sandes, Christopher Sandes, Adam Sandes (gentlemen), William Saurey, Bernard Benson, Rowland Nicholson, Thomas Rawlinson, and James Taylor (yeomen), who were to be a body corporate and have a common seal. Power was given to the founder to appoint the master of the school, and the governors were to appoint statutes and ordinances for its management. The available income arose from a charge upon the manors, lands, and tenements, "as well of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors," as of the Archbishop, and was not to exceed £30 a year. In accordance with the powers granted three years afterwards, the Archbishop "established and erected" the school and made certain statutes for its management, which provided that scholars were to be taught Greek and Latin with "other Syences necessarie to be taughte in a grammar schole" without "stipende, wage or exaccon of the scholers."

The school hours in summer were to be from six to eleven o'clock in the morning, and from one to five o'clock in the afternoon. Once a week the master was to examine the scholars in the "pryncyples of trewe Religion." As to the usher, he was to be obedient to the master and was to use "no weapons in the schole, as sword, dagger, waster (a cudgel), or other lyke to fighte or brawle in all or anie unlawful gammye in the

schole"; neither was he to haunt taverns or alehouses, or play unlawful games as "cardes, dyce, tables, or suche lyke." The master's salary was to be £20 a year, and that of the usher, £3 6s. 8d.; the former, in addition, to have the use of a house in "Hawkshead Churchsteele in Furnesfells."

The first master appointed under these statutes was Peter Magson, B.A., who was also curate of Hawkshead. His will was proved at Richmond in 1616. In it he desired to be buried in the church of Hawkshead. He left to his son Francis all debts owing to him in Yorkshire and his gold ring. He directed that his son John should be "put to apprentice." He names a daughter, Mary; a son, Peter; and a son-in-law, John Walker. "His inventory of goods" amounted to £43 18s. 4d. He was succeeded by his son Francis, whose will was proved in 1650, in which he is described as of "Churchstale, Hawkshead."

The house in Church Stile afterwards became the school; the other endowment consisted of property in Kendal, Trumflett, Moseley, and other places in Yorkshire. What remains of the governors' accounts show that the estates (no doubt in some measure due to their distance from Hawkshead) were so very badly managed that before the end of the eighteenth century the revenue of the foundation was very much reduced.

The old custom of "barring out" obtained here, and under an account of February, 1650, occurs, "for a new key to the schoole doore—the old broke at the last barring out—6d."

In 1691 the revenue amounted to £34; in 1720, to £37 13s. 4d. When the Charity Commissioners visited Hawkshead in 1819 they found that close to the school, and on part of its land, stood a public-house called the Sun Inn, for which only 12s. a year was paid to the master. Into the controversy that followed we cannot enter, but it reveals a very long period of neglect by the

governors. The income of the school at this date was about £147, and the number of boys about forty, whilst in 1785 the number was over one hundred.

Amongst the distinguished scholars from this school were William Wordsworth, the poet; Dr. Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Lord Brougham; Sir James Scarlett, Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Abinger; and Edward Baines, the author of *The History of Lancashire.*

The school library was founded in 1669 by Daniel Rawlinson, citizen and vintner of London, and a native of Grisedale, in the parish of Hawkshead, and who died in London in 1679. Between these two dates he gave a considerable number of books, and invested £100, part of the interest of which was to be devoted to this purpose. The first catalogue, dated 1670, contained forty-four works. In 1679 they had increased to sixty-seven, and at the time of Rawlinson's death the number was one hundred and sixteen, a full list of which will be found in vol. vii. of the Chetham Society (new series).

Warton

Matthew Hutton, D.D., Archbishop of York, was the son of Matthew Hutton, of Priest Hutton, in this parish, and was born there in 1529. His parents were of humble origin. He went to Cambridge as a sizar. He was a Fellow of Trinity College, and before his appointment to York was successively Bishop of Lichfield, Coventry, and Durham. By Letters Patent, bearing date 15th November, 1595, Queen Elizabeth granted to him and his heirs the licence to erect and build a school at Warton and an almshouse near the churchyard of the parish church, which should be called the Free Grammar School and Hospital of Jesus, and to consist of a master and under-master, or usher, and of six poor almsmen in the school. There was to be a governing body of six discreet and good men, to be called the wardens and governors of

the school and hospital, who were to manage the property and appoint masters and make statutes and rules. The Queen also gave licence that lands and tenements not exceeding in value £50 a year might be given to the governors for the maintenance of the school and hospital.

The Archbishop built the school and the house for six poor people, and appointed a schoolmaster, to whom he paid £20 a year, and to the usher, £6 13s. 4d.; also for each of the six poor people, £3 6s. 8d.; and by his will, and that of his son, Timothy Hutton, provision was made for the sum required by an endowment of £41 13s. 4d., but from the deed-poll, dated 25th November, 1637, under the hand and seal of Matthew Hutton, grandson of the founder, it appears that the six governors had not been appointed; and this state of things remained up to 1825, when the Charity Commissioners reported that the interference of a Court of Equity seemed necessary, as well for the re-establishment of the charity and the recovery of the property as for the appointment of new governors. A schoolhouse, then standing near the churchyard, bore an inscription over the door: "Anno Domini M.D. XCIV. Deo et Bonis Literis. Matt. Hutton Episc. Dvnelm." The house consisted of a schoolroom on the ground floor and four apartments above, which were occupied by the usher. The building was in bad repair. Up to 1815 the £46 13s. 4d. was regularly paid, and the schoolmaster was appointed either by the vicar or the Huttons of Maske Hall. In 1818 the master died, and in 1823 the vicar also died, insolvent, having for some years retained to his own use the master's salary. At the time when the master died, in 1808, children were only taught reading, writing, and arithmetic.

At this school was educated Roger Dodsworth, the antiquary, whose father was chancellor to the founder of the school.

Urswick

By memorandum, dated 9th October, 1580, it appears that William Marshall, by will, dated 15th July, 1579, appointed that a free grammar school should be erected and endowed at Little Urswick or Much Hadham, in the county of Hertford, at the discretion of his executors, with the consent of Archbishop Parker; and they agreed that it should be erected at Little Urswick. In the twenty-seventh year of her reign (1584-85), Queen Elizabeth, at the request of persons in the neighbourhood, granted, by her Letters Patent, dated 13th March, 1585, that such a school should be there erected, to be called the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth. Governors were thereupon appointed, to whom the lands and tenements in Norfolk left by the founder were assigned.

The Commonwealth Survey of 1650 reported that Mr. Nicholas Marshall was "both Viccar of ye church and Maister of a free school," and was "scandelous in life and negligent in both his callings."

In 1696 the appointment of master was in the hands of twelve governors. At a later period the income from the property only amounted to £12 a year, which was paid to the vicar, who also acted as schoolmaster. In 1830 there were forty scholars, ten of whom learnt Latin and Greek.

CARTMEL PRIORY

By the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

CCORDING to the anonymous author of the *Historia de St. Cuthberto*, cited by Camden, the land of Cartmel, with all the Britons in it, was granted by Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, to St. Cuthbert, who was consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne in 685.

Probably this was one of the numerous districts ravaged by the Danes and bereft of its church, for we may be sure that a church would be erected here by St. Cuthbert and the monks of Lindisfarne when the territory came into their possession. It is, however, clear that a church was standing here in the earlier Norman days before the foundation of the present edifice, as appears from the witnesses to several deeds of gift to the adjacent abbey of Furness. William, *clericus de Kertmel*, is a witness to a deed of 1135, and Hecheman, *parsona de Chertmel*, in 1155. Moreover, the advowson of this church and its chapel formed part of the foundation charter of the priory.

In 1188 King John, whilst Earl of Mortaigne, granted to William Mareschall the elder, Earl of Pembroke, who had married for his second wife Eleanor, second daughter of John, considerable lands with their appurtenances in Cartmel. The original deed of this grant is at the British Museum (*Harl. Charters* 83, a. 26), and is in as perfect and legible condition as on the day when it was first penned. In those days brevity was as closely studied in legal documents as is prolixity at the present

time. The parchment of the charter in question only measures 6 in. by 4 in. Attached to it is the large circular seal of Earl John, in green wax, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. On the obverse is the equestrian figure of the earl, with drawn sword in the right hand and shield on the left arm; on the reverse is the much smaller impression of the secret seal. This deed is accompanied by another of about the same date bearing the like seal, by which the earl confirmed the grant of all this property by William Mareschall to the founding of a religious house at Cartmel for the good of his soul and those of his ancestors.

William's foundation charter provides that the house was to be one of canons regular of the order of St. Augustine. He endowed it with the lands of Cartmel and every kind of right, such as fisheries, salt works, and iron mines, and with the church of Cartmel and the advowsons of all its chapelries. He further provided that the house should be free and not subject to any other house, and that on the death of the first prior the canons were to elect two of their number and present them to him as their patron, or to his heirs, and that the one selected by the patron should be prior, and that the house should always remain a priory and not be converted into an abbey. The charter concludes in these solemn terms:

> This house have I founded for the increase of holy religion, giving and conceding to it every kind of liberty that the mouth can utter or the heart of man conceive; whosoever, therefore, shall cause loss or injury to the said house or its immunities, may he incur the curse of God, of the most Blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the saints of God, in addition to my own.

From a confirmation charter entered on the Patent Rolls in 1344, it is known that William, the founder, subsequently granted to the prior and canons of Cartmel certain possessions in Ireland, namely, the church of Ballysax, with the chapel of Ballymaden and the town

CARTMEL PRIORY CHURCH.

of Kilrush, with the advowson of the church of that town. William Mareschall had large possessions in Ireland; the whole province of Leinster fell to him in right of his first wife, whose father, Richard de Clare, had married the only daughter of Dermoth, King of Leinster.

So soon as King John came to the throne (1199) all the lands and liberties of Cartmel priory were amply confirmed by royal charters, together with a few additional benefactions, such as lands at Humphrey Head, which had accrued to it since the original foundation. Four years later the King granted license to the prior of Cartmel to export corn from his Irish possessions.

Daniel is the name of the first recorded prior of Cartmel, *c.* 1195.

William was the second prior; his name appears as a witness to deeds of the years 1200, 1205, 1208, and 1220. Absalom was prior in 1221; he was a witness in that year to a grant of land to the priory of Lancaster.

William Mareschall the younger in 1219 confirmed all his father's grants to the priory. About this time several other small benefactions were made, which are recited in subsequent confirmation charters. The priory seems to have been in debt or some other difficulties in 1224. At Easter of that year Henry III. granted the prior of Cartmel letters of protection, to hold good for two years.

The canons were rebuilding their church on a large scale in 1230. In that year Archbishop Walter Gray, when holding a visitation at Lancaster, granted an indulgence of twenty days to penitents who charitably assisted in the fabric of the church of St. Mary of Cartmel. The Archbishop stated that the possessions of the canons were so small that they could scarcely fulfil the obligations of hospitality.

Pope Gregory IX., in 1233, in response to the petition of the prior and canons of Cartmel, declared the custom of presenting two canons to the patron on the occasion of a vacancy to be invalid; the convent was henceforth to elect only one, and he was to be presented to the bishop. A further indult of the same year provided that the prior and convent were not to be summoned before judges to a distance of more than two days' sail from the port at which they embarked to get to their monastery. These two bulls are cited in the first volume of the *Calendar of Papal Registers.*

A third and much larger original bull of the same year is among the Duchy Records at the Public Record Office, and of this a translation is given in full in Baines' *History of Lancashire.* By this bull Gregory took the priory under the special papal protection, ordering that the rule of St. Augustine be inviolably observed there in perpetuity. All their possessions were confirmed to them, and no tithe was to be taken by any for enclosed or cultivated lands. Among various other privileges, it was provided that at times of general interdict mass might be said in a low voice, with closed doors and without ringing of bells.

In 1242 Simon, prior of Cartmel, was witness to a grant of land in the manor of Orton. Another prior, Richard, is mentioned in 1250, when the right of William de Vallred and his wife Joan, who was a great-granddaughter of William Mareschall, the founder, to veto the election of a prior was admitted.

The abbot of Furness and the precentor of Beverley were appointed in 1248 by the Archbishop of York as visitors of Cartmel priory to inquire into certain alleged irregularities, with power to report the prior and his officials if such severity seemed needful.

Cross Crake chapel, in Westmorland, was granted to the priory, at the beginning of the reign of Edward I., by Sir William Strickland, of Sizergh.

In 1278 the prior of Cartmel obtained the important grant of a weekly market at Flookburgh, in this parish.

In 1279 William de Walton, *alias* Scot, was elected prior, on the death of his predecessor, John.

Edward I., in 1280, granted license to this house to buy necessaries for their own use throughout Ireland, in pursuance of previous letters patent that had been granted to a like effect by Henry III. This license was renewed by Edward II. in 1316. The affairs of the Irish property often took the prior across the seas. In January, 1291, the prior, when absent in Ireland on the affairs of his church, nominated Thomas of York, his fellow-canon, and Thomas de Catum to act for him for two years; and at the same time nominated Roger le Waleys and Adam Coquina as his proctors in Ireland when he was in England. Similar nominations are also entered on the Patent Rolls in subsequent years, as in 1292, 1299, 1306, 1308, 1312, etc.

On July 17th, 1282, the priory church of Cartmel was witness to an important and doubtless imposing ceremony, which was a strong testimony to the power of the Church. On that day Roger de Lancaster did homage and acknowledged fealty to the abbot of Furness for the half of Ulverston, an obligation which up to that time he had resisted.

The Taxation Roll of Pope Nicholas, of 1291, shows that the then annual value of the rectory of Cartmel appropriated to the priory was £46 13s. 4d. The prior also received two pensions, each worth £1 6s. 8d., from the churches of Thornton and Whittington. The temporalities of the priory within the archdeaconry of Richmond were of the annual value of £21 16s. 8d.

The *Quo Warranto* Rolls show that the prior of Cartmel was called upon in 1292 to show his title to have wreck of sea, waif, and a variety of other legal privileges relative to the administering of justice within his liberty of Cartmel. All the latter were substantiated

by the production of the original charter of the founders and divers later confirmatory charters; but wreck and waif were declared forfeited to the King, by whom they were granted, in 1295, to his brother Edmund, first Earl of Lancaster.

In 1292, and again in 1300, William occurs in deeds as prior of Cartmel.

The Scots, in their various border raids, rarely showed any respect for churches, whether secular or religious; but, according to Holinshed's *Chronicles*, they on one occasion made an exception in favour of this priory. During the prolonged raid through the northern counties in 1322, the Scots, after plundering the villages of the deanery of Copeland, "marching forward unto Cartmel beyond Levin Sands, burnt and spoiled all the countrie about, excepte a priorie of blacke canons which stood there." The Cistercian monastery of Holm Cultram, in Cumberland, had been utterly spoiled a few days previously, and it is known from other sources that the abbey of Furness and the priory of Cartmel purchased their exemption by heavy fines.

Protection was granted in this year by Edward II. to the prior of Cartmel, for two years, for the men whom he was sending with his ships to buy corn and other victuals for the maintenance of his house.

In October of the following year, when the King was at Liverpool, the prior and convent were licensed to acquire in mortmain lands and rents to the value of 100s. a year.

On the occasion of the marriage of Eleanor, sister to King Edward III., in 1333, a general call was made for contributions towards the expenses from the religious houses. In an acquittance to the prior of Cartmel for 40s. on this account from the King's clerk, it was granted that this gift should not prejudice the prior or his successors as a precedent.

In May, 1341, license was granted for the alienation in mortmain to the priory by Robert de Walton and Margaret his wife—in satisfaction of 50s. of the 100s. annual value of the grant of Edward II.—of a carucate of land in Holker, in Cartmel. In 1347 William de Kernetby and William de Stanley made further grants of land, meadows, pasture, and woods in Broughton, in Cartmel, under the same general license.

The Black Death of 1348-9 raged terribly in this district. Apparently it carried off Simon, the prior of Cartmel. At all events, on September 20th, 1349, the sub-prior and convent had license from the King to proceed to an election. This royal license was at this time necessary, as the advowson of the priory then pertained to the King, as all knights' fees, advowsons, etc., of the late Laurence de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, were in the hands of the Crown on account of the nonage of the heir.

William of Kendal, prior of Cartmel, staying in England, nominated, in January, 1352-3, Richard de Kellet, his fellow-canon, and Thomas, son of Adam Elloteson, as his attorneys in Ireland for two years.

Prior Richard of Kellet died in January, 1380-1, and Richard II. licensed the sub-prior and convent to fill up the vacancy, as it was of the advowson of the heir of John de Hastings, late Earl of Pembroke, who was under age. In the following month the Archdeacon of Richmond was signified of the royal assent to the election of William Laurence, canon of the house, as prior of Cartmel. Shortly afterwards a mandate was issued to the King's uncle, John, Duke of Lancaster, to restore the temporalities of the priory to William Laurence, whose election as prior had been confirmed by the Archdeacon of Richmond, and whose fealty the abbot of Furness had been commanded to take.

Pope Boniface IX., in 1391, conferred on Robert de

Greves, Augustinian canon of the priory of Cartmel, in the diocese of York, the dignity of papal chaplain.

The same Pope, in the like year, granted to the prior and convent of Cartmel to have, as hitherto, the care of the parishioners of St. Michael's exercised by either a hired secular priest or by one of their canons in priest's orders, to be appointed and removed at their sole pleasure. It is recited in this bull that in the foundation and endowment of their monastery it was ordained by the ordinary that the care of the parishioners of the parish church, which stood formerly where their monastery now is, should remain in the hands of the prior and convent, and that in the monastery church should be erected (as was afterwards done) an altar to St. Michael, at which the parishioners should be bound to hear mass and to receive the sacraments from a priest appointed or removed at pleasure; which cure, since the said foundation over a hundred and sixty years ago, had been exercised sometimes by a secular and sometimes by a canon.

A mandate of the same date was forwarded by the Pope to the Archbishop of York, enjoining him to summon those concerned, and to remove William, prior of Cartmel, if it be found, as the Pope had heard, that he had been guilty of dilapidation, of simony in the admission of persons to make their profession, and of too frequent visits to taverns (*tabernas*), so that the buildings of the monastery were falling to ruin, divine worship and hospitality neglected, and scandal caused by the prior's unworthy life. The Archbishop was further empowered to permit the convent to proceed to a new election, and to confirm the same. Nevertheless, it would appear as if the incriminated prior was able to offer sufficient evidence to warrant the retention of his office, for in the kalends of January, 1396, Boniface IX. granted an indent to William Laurence, prior of

Cartmel, to the effect that the confessor of his choice might grant him, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death.

Henry IV. granted license in 1400, on payment of a mark, for William Normaund, vicar of Urswick, and Richard Sumlyer, chaplain, to grant the priory of Cartmel an acre of land in Allithwaite. On payment of four marks the King, in the following year, granted the priory confirmation of all previous charters.

An inquisition was held at Cartmel in 1417 as to the motes and bounds between the lands of the lordship of St. Mary of Cartmel (*i.e.*, the liberty of the priory) and the soil of the free tenants of John Philipson and John Travers, of the lands of Hanesfell. There is, however, a remarkable dearth of any evidence or documents pertaining to this monastery throughout the fifteenth century.

William occurs as prior of Cartmel in 1441; William Hayll in 1497, 1498, and 1501; and Miles in a rent-roll of the possessions of the priory for the year 1508. In another rent-roll among the Duchy Records of the year 1528, James Griggs is named as prior.

At the heraldic visitation of Norroy for the year 1530, the arms of this house were tricked as, *Party per pale, or and vert, a lion rampant, gules* (showing that the priory used the founder's arms), with the following entry:

> Be it noted that the monastery of Cartmell of blak chanons was first founded by Bygot Erle Marshall and Erle of Pembroke of whom ys descended the Lord Greye Ruthin and after Erle of Kent, and so restyth founder of the said monastery Sr Henry Graye as heyre to the said Erle of Kent.—(*Harl. MS.*, 1499, f. 46.)

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 estimated the annual value of the temporalities of the priory, including the site, with its gardens and orchards, and the rents and farms in Cartmel, Silverdale, Bolton, and Hest, with the water-mill and manor court fees, at £88 16s. 3d.

The tithes of the rectory of Cartmel, with a pension of £2 13s. 4d. from the church of Whittington, brought the spiritualities to £26 3s. 4d., yielding a total income of £114 19s. 7d. Deductions included a pension of £1 6s. 8d. to the priory of Conishead, and pensions of 40s. to two lay clerks in the parish church of Cartmel. One of the most considerable outgoings was an annual payment of £6, in accordance with the original foundation, to William Gate, bailiff and conductor of all the King's subjects over the quicksands known as Cartmelsands (*conductore cuncti populi Dni Regis per sabulas maris voc' Cartmelsands*). The largest payment of all, however, was that of £12, in accordance with the founder's charter, in daily alms to seven poor persons. This left the clear annual value as £91 6s. 3d.

In order to secure the consent of Parliament to the destruction of the monasteries, the Crown deliberately entered on a policy of defamation.

Those evil-minded tools of Cromwell and the King, Doctors Layton and Legh, in their hasty and scandalous visitation of the northern monasteries, reported, early in 1536, that two of the canons of this house were incontinent, and that one of them had six children. It is sufficient here to remark that there is not a single scholar of repute who has studied the *Comperta*, as the return of these two infamous men with regard to the northern monasteries is termed, in connection with other documents of the time, who is not convinced of the outrageous nature of their lying fables. Dr. Gairdner, whose knowledge of all letters and papers of this reign is absolutely unparalleled, has just (October, 1908) delivered the final and crushing blow to the credit of these two men in his *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*.

In the same brief report, they estimated the annual income of the house at £100, and debts owing to it

at £40. They also made entry, under the head of superstition, that the priory had a portion of the Holy Cross.

When the Act was passed in 1536 for the immediate dissolution of all religious houses whose yearly revenue was less than £200, the prior and canons of Cartmel petitioned for a new survey, on the ground that the former valuations did not include the whole of the sources from which their income was derived. Accordingly special commissioners were sent down (*Harl. MS.*, 604, f. 102), with the result that the total income was declared to be £212 12s. 10½d.; the bells, lead, and goods valued at £264 13s. 9½d.; wood worth to be sold, £6; debts owing to the house, £59 12s. 8d. The priory promised the Crown 1,000 marks to redeem them from inclusion. One of the additional sources of income estimated on this second survey were the oblations "at the Relyke of the Holy Crosse," which was preserved in the conventual church. This later survey is very explicit, and sets forth the names and ages of the canons (who numbered ten), and the names and occupations of the thirty-eight servants. The canons were: Richard Preston, prior, aged 41 years; James Eskeridge, sub-prior, 36 years; William Panell, 68 years; Richard Backhouse, 41 years; John Rudley, 32 years; Austin Fell, 33 years; Thomas Briggs, 30 years; Thomas Person, 35 years; Bryan Willen, 28 years; John Cowper, 25 years.

Ten of the servants were entered as waiters; one each as brewer, baker, barber, cook, scullion, butler, miller, woodman, fisher, wright, hunter, forester, poulterer, and malt maker; two as shepherds, two as woodleaders, eight as hinds of husbandry, and two illegible.

The muniments of the priory, with the plate and jewels, were placed in the convent coffer in the treasury of the house, and locked with three keys, one remaining with the prior and the two others with the commissioners.

Of the six large bells in the tower, the parish claimed three as their own.

In face, however, of the value of over £200, as declared on the second survey, this ancient priory was suppressed among the smaller houses.

The dissolution of these houses was so fiercely resented in the north, more especially in Yorkshire, North Lancashire, and Westmorland, that it resulted in that great popular rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. Robert Aske, a Yorkshireman of good descent, marched with his followers on York in October, 1536. For a time the movement, which was eminently religious, met with overwhelming success; the city opened its gates, and even the Archbishop took the oath of fidelity to the common cause. This triumph induced many of the ejected monks and nuns to return to their homes, which had not yet been made desolate. Among others, the abbot of Sawley and twenty-one of his monks re-entered their ancient house on October 12th, amid the goodwill of the whole country-side. Several of the canons of Cartmel again took up their residence, though the exact date is not known. The Earl of Derby collected an army for the King, and was about to proceed to Sawley and Cartmel to drive out the religious, when Aske put forth his whole influence to check bloodshed. A sort of truce was patched up at Doncaster early in November, and a general pardon to all north of Doncaster was nominally put forth by the Crown.

The Earl of Derby, writing to the King on November 1st, stated that the canons of Cartmel had put the prior into his late priory against his will, and that he had stolen away to the Earl at Preston to seek his protection.

When the trusting people had dispersed to their homes, heralds were sent round to the disaffected districts to proclaim the much qualified and limited royal pardon.

The heralds engaged in this work received secret instructions how to proceed. Each official was ordered

in all his journey to diligently, secretly, and substantially to ensearch what monks, canons, nuns or other religious persons of any religious houses, within the limitation of the Act of suppression, having been discharged by his grace's commissioners, be again restored by any of the rebels to the possession of their said houses, how they use themselves in the same, and of what inclination the people is for their continuance."

The evidence of William Colyns, the bailiff of Kendal, taken in the following April, when he was a prisoner in the Tower, affords an instance of how the pardon of Doncaster was proclaimed. Clarenceux Herald reached Kendal on December 22nd, and there duly exhibited the pardon, under the King's broad seal, at the bailiff's house, and afterwards openly proclaimed that no man should be disturbed in the possession of lands or tithes, but that all were to continue as at the Doncaster meeting until the Duke of Norfolk (who had negotiated with Aske on the part of the Crown) came again to the country, about twenty days after Christmas.

As the herald was leaving came two brethren of the late priory of Carpmell and desired the herald to write that order for them; but as he could not tarry he begged examinat, his host, to write them a word or two to that effect, And thereupon examinat wrote them the order to this effect—"Neighbours of Carpmell, so it is that the King's herald hath made proclamation how that every man, under pain of high treason, should suffer everything, as farms, tithes and such other to be in like stay and order concerning possession as they were in the last meeting at Doncaster, except you will of your charity help the brethren here somewhat towards their board till my lord of Norfolk come again and take further order therein." This was written partly in presence of the said herald, Mr. Ducket and others, and afterwards delivered by examinat to one of the said brethren.

Colyns continued to give testimony to the effect that when he was at York,

On Saturday before our Lady Day before Christmas, he said to Dr. Dakyn, "Seeing ye were at Pomefrett and know what order was taken there, I pray you write to the priors of Conyshedd and Carpmell, seeing ye be their visitor, and give them your counsel what is best for them to do.

So on the morrow examinat, at his host's house, received Dakyn's letters to the priors of Conyshed and Carpmell, sealed, which he forwarded, on coming home to Kendal, by a market man It was eight weeks after the delivery of these letters ere they of Carpmell and Conyshed made commotion and stayed the farmers (*i.e.*, the royal nominees) from taking their corn."

Dr. Dakyn mentioned above was John Dakyn, who was at that time Rector of Kirkby Ravensworth and Vicar-General of York diocese. Fortunately the original letter that he handed to the bailiff of Kendal to deliver to the priors of Cartmel and Conishead is extant at the Public Record Office. It is dated York, Second Sunday of Advent, and is to the following effect: that all religious persons, by the King's consent, shall enter their suppressed houses again till further direction be taken by Parliament. He exhorted them to do so, and trusted their monasteries would stand for ever.

Subsequently Dakyn, when under examination in the Tower, testified that

One Colyns, bailey of Kendall, told me at Pomfret that all the canons of Carpmel had gone back to their house except the foolish prior, and asked me to write to him to do likewise. I promised to write. I came to York the morrow after the Conception of Our Lady and deferred writing until I had news of the convocation at Doncaster. Meanwhile Colyns came to York for the letter, and I wrote it the more readily as the common voice at York was that abbeys should stand till the next Parliament.

Dakyn, from his official position, during the conference at Pontefract on the 4th and 5th of December, acted as secretary, and took down the proceedings in writing. From the evidence of Dakyn and Colyns, supported by a very considerable amount of other testimony, there can be no shadow of doubt that the general impression in the north was that the conferences of Pontefract and Doncaster fully authorised the temporary return of the religious to the houses from which they had been recently ejected. Moreover, hardly anyone who reads and weighs the original documents

of the time can resist the conclusion that the utterly unscrupulous King and his crafty councillors fully intended this impression to be produced, in order that when once Aske's army of followers had been disbanded under a false impression, the resistance of a few scattered parties, intentionally provoked, might be mercilessly crushed.

We are here only concerned with Cartmel, but it must be remarked that the attack by the commons on Carlisle, when they found how they had been deluded about the Doncaster pardon, gave the excuse for the proclamation of martial law throughout the north. In a most brutal letter of February 22nd, 1536-7, from Henry VIII. to the Duke of Norfolk as to the rising, the last words were:

> Finally as these troubles have been promoted by the monks and canons of those parts . . . you shall without pity or circumstance cause the monks to be tied up without further delay or ceremony.

A few days before this letter was penned, active resistance was offered by the men of Cartmel, doubtless instigated thereto by the returned canons—who (with the letters of Dakyn and Colyns in their possession) believed they were acting legally—to the attempt to remove the corn from the tithe-barns of the old monastic estate. For this resistance four of the canons and eight of the yeomen were strung up at Cartmel without any form of trial. It is pleasant to learn, from a letter of March 11th to the Duke of Norfolk, that three of the canons, James Eskerige, John Ridley, and another, who was then acting as sub-prior, had escaped by flight, and were believed to be in hiding near Kendal. It was clearly the intention to hang and quarter the whole of the canons.

The "King's farmer," to whom the site and possessions of the canons had been assigned, was one Thomas Holcroft, an esquire of the King's body, and a

considerable holder of monastic lands, whom the late Mr. Roper rightly calls "the unscrupulous agent of an unscrupulous master." These lands were, however, shortly afterwards exchanged by Holcroft for other possessions in the south of England.

The whole of the conventual buildings were pulled down by the new owner, with the exception of the gate-house and a few out-buildings. The fine priory church would have shared in the destruction had not the parishioners vigorously protested, claiming it as a parish church. This was true so far as the part known as the town quire, where the altar of St. Michael stood, was concerned. The walls of the whole were suffered to remain, but the roofs of the whole church, save that of the town quire, were demolished for the sake of the lead with which they were covered.

Just before the dissolution, one Oliver Levyns was chaplain or parish priest of Cartmel at a yearly stipend from the priory of £6 13s. 4d. When the house was dispersed, one of the canons, Bryan Willan, held this post. Apparently he had no share in the "treason" of his brethren, for he was allowed to continue in his office, and managed to accommodate himself to the various religious changes under Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, until his death or resignation in 1585.

For eighty years the great church remained roofless and in a sad plight, save for the fragment used as a parish church. But in 1618 a great benefactor appeared in the person of Mr. George Preston, of Holker. In the reign of Philip and Mary, the rectory of Cartmel had been granted by the Crown to the Bishop of Chester and his successors, and the Prestons held it under a three-life lease from the bishopric, issued in 1609. According to the inscription to his memory (1640) in the south aisle of the chancel, "he beautified it within very decently with fretted plaister work, adorned the chancel with curious carved woodwork, and placed

CARTMEL PRIORY CHURCH: DOOR OF NAVE.

therein a pair of organs of great value." He covenanted with the parishioners to thoroughly repair the main buildings of the church at his own expense, in consideration of their providing the sum of eighty marks. Between 1618 and 1623 he built entirely new roofs of timber and slate, adding beneath ornamental plaster ceilings, and gradually refitted the church, so that the whole could henceforth be used by the parish.

One addition of importance was made to the fabric during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Mr. W. Robinson, of Newby Bridge, caused a new vestry to be erected in 1678-9. By his will, dated March 2nd, 1677-8, he left £40 for

> a new vestry and guesthouse, my will and minde beinge that the present vestery, being a small and low building and unproportionable to ye rest of the church, bee demolished, to the end that a better may be there erected; the same to be built at the end of the organ quier, and of equal height, latitude, and dimensions, and uniforme with the rest of the buildings of that part of the churche.

In this vestry, at the east end of the north quire aisle, is preserved, in addition to the parish books and the registers, and two volumes of Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, which used to be chained in the church, a considerable library of some three hundred volumes, bequeathed to the parish by Thomas Preston, of Holker, in 1692. Among the rarer volumes of this valuable collection of books may be mentioned an edition of Thomas Aquinas, printed at Venice in 1506; a Virgil of 1509; Bacon's works, printed in 1522; and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, of the year 1596. A curious relic in this vestry is the oldest known churchyard umbrella for holding over the clergyman's head by the graveside in wet weather. It is supposed to be about two centuries old. The stick or heavy staff is of walnut wood, whilst the wooden ribs are of oak. It is covered with stout canvas, the paint on which has been often renewed. When opened out, it is so flat in appearance as to resemble the umbrellas in use in Japan.

The oldest vestry book of Cartmel church begins in May, 1597, wherein are entered the names of the twenty-four elected sidesmen, together with the churchwardens, who were eight in number, and the expenses they incurred year by year. It extends to the year 1674. The parish over which the authority of these sworn men extended was about fourteen miles in length, and embraced five smaller parishes or divisions, known as Cartmel, Cartmel Fell, Flookburgh, Staveley, and Lindal.

In 1597 it was agreed that "a caste-or laye should bee forthwith had thro'out all the parish, to the value of twenty markes, towardes the mendinge and repayringe of such wants as are about the Churche."

At Easter, 1599, there occurs an instance of pew appropriation. The twenty-four sidesmen and the churchwardens granted to Richard Kellett "one roome or place of thre Formes Bredthe on the Southe Syde of the church, next adjoyninge to the bell-ropes, theren to make a place or Queare for him and his wife several to themselves." It is stated that this was done in acknowledgment of the time he had already given to keeping the church-book and for other pains about the church, and in the expectation that he would continue this care in the future.

The entries as to repairs, etc., relative to the bells are frequent throughout the seventeenth century. In 1625 a new clock was purchased at a cost of £6 10s. It had two dials, "the one within the churche, and the other on the outsyde of the churche, out at the windowe over the old Porche." The outline of this window, and of the space once occupied by the dial, can still be seen over the present porch. Four years later, 3s. 6d. was spent "for setting up the Sunne dyell."

There was an expenditure on the organs of 39s. 2d. in 1610, and 5s. was paid in 1630 for mending the same. This organ was evidently discarded and thrown out in the early times of Puritan supremacy, for on November 1st,

1643, "there was left forth of the Vestrie xviij peeces of the sides and leaves of organs and the winde chiste." The inventory of that date also names "29 iron nailes belonging to ye organs."

In May, 1636, the churchwardens covenanted with Robert Hutton, joiner, to supply "a fit and decent rail about the Communion Table of sound and good timber of the best sort," at 4s. the yard. In the following year a new Holy Table was provided. The cover for the font cost £1 9s. 9d. in 1640, and the pulpit cushion 10s. 4d.

The restoration of episcopacy and the monarchy brought about immediate attention to the decencies of worship. Orders were given on November 16th, 1660, for the pulpit to be raised two feet, for the font to be erected in the usual place, for the clock to be repaired, and "that a Booke of Common Prayer bee sent for of the best edition." The use of the font was forbidden during the Puritan ascendency. In 1645 the parish paid 2s. 8d. for a pewter dish for christening.[1]

Throughout the eighteenth century the great fabric of the church was so sadly neglected, that Dr. Whitaker, the great local historian, writing in 1818, described it as "something between a cathedral and a ruin," and said that it was high time for another Preston to arise. He complained of "damp floors, green walls, rotting beams, shelter just sufficient for owls and bats, and light augmented by broken panes."

At length, in 1830, a modest beginning was made to restore the old church to something like its former dignity; the paving of the floor and other necessary repairs were about that time carried out at a cost of £1,230. The tower underwent a certain amount of restoration in 1850.

[1] Those who desire further information respecting these church accounts are referred to a little book termed *Cartmeltoniana*, by Rev. W. Follitt, published in 1854, and to Mr. Roper's account of Cartmel church in his *Churches, Castles, and Ancient Halls of North Lancashire*, 1880.

In 1854 the walls and roofs of the transepts underwent considerable repair. The Duke of Devonshire, as patron of the living, spent about £500 in 1857-8 on the general repairs of the quire, and at the same time the restoration of the town quire was taken in hand. The "fretted plaister work" of Mr. George Preston was removed and a massive timber roof substituted from the designs of Mr. E. G. Paley, who superintended the whole work.

In 1864, when Canon Hubbersty was vicar, a faculty was obtained from Carlisle for the general restoration of the whole fabric at an additional cost of about £7,000, when the church was reseated throughout, the roofs of the nave and aisles reslated, the windows fresh glazed, a new organ built, and a new clock provided. The whole work was done after a commendable fashion, considering the time when it was accomplished. On September 26th, 1867, a special service was held in the church in recognition of the completion of the restoration, on which occasion the new organ erected in the town quire was used for the first time. In an excellent though brief posthumous memoir of Cartmel Priory Church, by the Rev. J. L. Petit, which appeared in the *Archæological Journal* for 1871, the writer stated that "the admirable restoration by Mr. Paley, unlike many restorations, assists instead of confusing or misleading the antiquary, bringing, as it does, to light features which had been hidden, with the help of no more additional work than was demanded by necessary repair." Further sums, amounting in the aggregate to several thousands of pounds, have since that date been expended on the church by way of beautifying the interior and preserving the entire fabric in a satisfactory state of repair.

The church consists of quire with side aisles or chapels, transepts, nave with aisles, and central tower. The internal dimensions are extreme length 158 ft. 8 in., and width across the transepts 107 ft. The width of the nave is 64 ft. 5 in., which is a foot less than the

width of the nave of Furness Abbey; but the quire of Cartmel is six inches wider than the quire of Furness, measuring 28 ft. 2 in.

The pillars supporting the tower are late Norman, the square abacus being used in the capitals, but the arches that spring from them are pointed. The quire is divided from the side aisles by two massive semi-circular arches on each side; they are richly moulded on the faces fronting the quire. Between these arches and the east end there is a blocked up early thirteenth century lancet window on each side. The one on the south side was partly re-opened to admit of the fourteenth century tomb known as the "Harrington Monument." It is, therefore, clear that the thirteenth century quire projected beyond the side aisles, which were shorter than they are at present. The sedilia, which were mutilated to make way for the monument, appear to have been insertions towards the close of the thirteenth century. Below the monument may be noted the remains of a piscina with a nail-head moulding.

The triforium arcade, which gives much dignity and beauty to the quire, runs above the round arches, and consists of twenty-two pointed arches on each side, springing from shafts with the square abacus. Doubtless it originally crossed the east end. The clerestory windows are square-headed two-light, and of fifteenth century date. The canons' seats in the chancel, twenty-six in number, are of like date, and bear beneath the usual curious devices, and in three cases initials. The later beautiful stall and screen work is described in detail in another paper in this volume.

There are some good remains of old stained glass, particularly two fine figures in the great east window, viz., St. John Baptist, and a metropolitan in red chasuble with white pallium over it. Much, however, of the old glass was removed from the chancel at the time of the dissolution to Bowness church, Windermere, where it may

still be seen. This is no mere conjecture; the fact was established by Mr. Stockdale in his *Annales Caermælenses* (pp. 224-8), published in 1872.

The parish or town quire is on the south side of the chancel; the windows are good examples of what is known as Decorated work, *circa* 1300-25; the tracery in each is different; the flowing lines of the east window are particularly good. On the north of the chancel is the Piper Quire, probably so called from a benefactor of that name. The roof is groined, and the windows are fifteenth century. A flight of six steps leads into the 1678 vestry.

The windows of the lofty and spacious transept are much varied, but chiefly of fifteenth century dates. In the south-east corner of the south transept and in the north-west corner of the north transept are staircases. Much of the fabric of the transept is obviously Norman or Transition Norman. Certain puzzling features about these two transepts are explained by the singular fact that the conventual buildings of the priory were originally on the south side of the church, but were shortly afterwards removed to the north. The credit of this discovery belongs to that master of monastic plans, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who gave this explanation in detail to the members of the Royal Archæological Institute when they visited Cartmel on July 23rd, 1898.

The nave is of plain but effective design, with massive octagonal pillars and pointed arches. The outer north wall shows traces of a former penthouse building. The windows are of fifteenth century date. The present ceiling below the tower, dating from 1850, bears the arms of the founder of the priory, of Preston of Holker, of the archbishopric of York, and of the bishopric of Carlisle. The brass chandelier hanging from the centre was a gift to the church in 1734 by Margaret Marshall.

The tower is peculiar; the lower stage, set square with the building, is part of the original design as carried out early in Henry III.'s reign. It is low and massive, and

Cartmel Priory Church.

may have served as a lanthorn open to the interior of the church. At a much later date the tower was raised another stage, by constructing, as it were, a square within a square, the upper portion being erected diagonally to the sides of the lower one; both portions are now embattled.

It is not possible to admire the modern imitation thirteenth century font. The fine and remarkable font cover, of 1640, does not fit, and unhappily lies discarded in the north quire aisle by the side of the steps up to the vestry.

The monuments are numerous, but there are very few older than the seventeenth century. Under an arch on the north side of the chancel is a grey marble slab of an early prior, bearing a cross and an inscription in sunk marginal letters:—*Hic jacet frater Wilelmus de Waltona Prior de Kertmel.* In the town quire is the later effigy of a canon, holding in his hands a chalice. As to the canopied tomb on the south side of the quire, known as the "Harrington Monument," over the effigies of a knight and his lady, much of the work shows beautiful figure-carving and other enrichments. This elaborate and unusual canopy work has been much discussed, and a good deal of more or less vain writing has been expended upon it. The one thing that is certain about it is that, as at present arranged, it presents no organic or original composition, but is made up of a variety of parts of differing dates somewhat cunningly put together. The cross piece, on which is carved a string of oak leaves and acorns, was probably part of a small stone screen. The effigies and other work were most likely moved and arranged here after the dissolution from parts of the buildings then destroyed. It is generally stated that it commemorates Sir Thomas Harrington, of Hornby Castle, who married Elizabeth Dacre, and who was killed at the battle of Wakefield, 1460; but the knightly figure clearly belongs to an earlier date.

POSTSCRIPT. — These notes on Cartmel Priory, curtailed through exigencies of space, will be found to contain a considerable number of facts not hitherto put on record in any account of Cartmel. Although, to save space, only a few references are given, the original documents have, so far as is possible, been consulted for every statement, particularly with regard to all that pertains to the Pilgrimage of Grace. Those who may desire to read further as to the story of this highly interesting monastic settlement, or as to the architectural history of the great church, will find the following books and papers most serviceable: Dr. Whitaker's *History of Whalley* (including Cartmel), 1818; W. Folliott's *Cartmeltoniana*, 1854; J. L. Petit's "Memoir of Cartmel" (*Archæological Journal*), 1870; F. A. Paley's *Architectural Notes on Cartmel Priory*, 1872; J. Stockdale's *Annals of Cartmel*, 1872; W. O. Roper's *Churches, Castles, and Halls of North Lancashire*, 1880, and *The Rural Deanery of Cartmel*, 1892.

There is yet abundant room for a comprehensive monograph on this priory.

LANCASHIRE WITCHES AND WITCHCRAFT

By Miss E. M. Platt, M.A.

THERE are few stranger pages in history than the records of witchcraft, necromancy and demonology, and as a large whole can often be best seen and understood by attention to a small part, so the vast and weird subject of demoniac influences can be perhaps well illustrated by a careful study of the demonology of Lancashire. The Palatine County, it must be remembered, was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remote from the tide of civilisation and the new learning; it contained no great town or city, its roads were few and bad, its trade very small; it was almost inevitable that in an age which believed in witches and demoniacal possession, such practices should have been ascribed to the dwellers in secluded spots. But it must be noticed that although it seems to the twentieth century more natural that witchcraft should be thought to exist in remote and mountainous regions, yet the belief in demonology in all its branches flourished among the wisest and best of the time. Lord Bacon, the greatest scientist of his day, prescribed "henbane, hemlock, mandrake, moonshade, tobacco, opium, and other soporiferous medicines," as the most suitable ingredients for a witch's ointment; Sir Walter Raleigh, statesman, traveller and scholar, was yet a firm believer in witchcraft; Sir Matthew Hale, great judge though he was, Hobbes, despite his scepticism, and beloved Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich, all shared in the same belief. The doctrines of the Church and the

Statute Book of Parliament alike prove that it was one of the oldest and most deeply rooted superstitions.

In an age in which witchcraft and sorcery were generally credited and legislated against, it is not surprising to find supposed cases in remote Lancashire. Even the greatest in the county were not superior to the vulgar superstition, and were not considered to be too great to suffer from its evils. Edward, Earl of Derby (1510-1572), had the reputation of entertaining a conjurer in his house; and Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, writes about him: "Mumford resorteth to Stanley's house in Lancashire, within six miles of Leerpoole. There he is to be had. There he lately cast out divels." The death of Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, in 1594, was popularly attributed to witchcraft. In a curious document entitled "A true reporte of such reasons and conjectures as cause verie many and the same also verie learned men to suppose his Hon: to be witched," there is absolute certainty expressed that the Earl's death was due to demoniacal influences, and if the report can be relied upon, the Earl himself shared in this opinion.

The tenth of Aprill about midnight, was found in his Hon. bedchamber by one Mr. Halsall an image of wax. . . . This image was hastilie cast into the fyre by Mr. Halsall before it was viewed because he thought by burning the same as he sayd he should relieve my lord from witchcraft and burn the witch who so much tormented his Hon: But it fell out contrarie to his love and affection, for after the melting thereof his Hon: more and more declined. . . . Sr Edward Fitton who wth other Justices examined certaine witches, reportethe, that one of them being bidden to saie the lords praier, said it well, but being conjured I would rather say adjured in the name of Jesus, that if she had bewitched his Hon: she should not be able to saie the same, she could never repeat that petition "forgive vs or trespasses" no not although it was repeated vnto hir. . . . He himself in all the time of his sicknes cried oute that the doctors laboured in vaine, because he was certainlie bewitched.

In 1597 a pardon was granted to Alice Brerley, of Castleton, in the parish of Rochdale, who had been condemned to death for killing James Kershaw and Robert Schofield by witchcraft. And in the same year there

was a case of witchcraft, or rather, perhaps, demoniacal possession, in Cleworth, now Clayworth, in the parish of Leigh. Nicholas Starkie had married Anne, daughter and sole heiress of John Parr, of Kempnough and Cleworth, and became possessed in right of his wife of Cleworth. They had two children—John, aged ten, and Anne, nine. These children became, according to the popular belief, possessed with a devil; perhaps they really had fits, or perhaps the application of a birch rod would have expelled the evil spirit. After two or three months John Hartley, a reputed conjurer, was sent for, and he, by means of a magic circle and certain charms, at first afforded the children relief. For some two or three years Hartley, who was a shrewd and cunning man, remained at Mr. Starkie's house, and made a very good thing out of his supposed powers, constantly increasing his demands. But even a worm will turn, and at last Mr. Starkie drove Hartley out of his house. But before he left Hartley effected greater mischief, for he managed to bring it about that five other females, residents, were possessed, and it was judged in the house that whomsoever he kissed on them he breathed the devil. Dr. Dee, the warden of the collegiate church of Manchester, who coquetted with the reputation of conjurer, was appealed to, but refused to interfere, and advised that Mr. Starkie should "call in some godlye preachers, with whom he would consult concerning a public or private fast." George More, pastor of Cawke, in Derbyshire, and John Darrell, another clergyman, examined the persons thus afflicted, and after some thirty people had remained with the afflicted all day, praying and fasting, the spirits left them. Hartley was committed to take his trial, and was sentenced to be executed on the charge of witchcraft. Of the clergy concerned in this affair, it is remarkable that at least three suffered from the imputation of themselves being too closely connected with the powers of darkness. Dr. Dee, in a petition dated January 5th, 1604, prayed to

be freed from the charge of witchcraft, even at the risk of trial. Mr. Darrell, who published a book containing an account of the Starkie affair, was accused of making a trade of casting out devils, was examined in the High Commission Court, deposed from the ministry, and imprisoned. Mr. More, who also wrote a tract on the Starkie case, was confined to prison for two years for witnessing to the truths of the statements made by Mr. Darrell.

The most famous trial of witches took place in 1612. The barren wilds of the forest of Pendle, once part of the greater forest of Blackburnshire, were peculiarly suitable for the growth of all superstition. In this corner of Lancashire there lived at the accession of James I. two very old women, Elizabeth Southerns and Ann Whittle, better known in the chronicles of witchcraft as "Old Demdike" and "Old Chattox." Both were in a state of direst poverty, subsisting chiefly on the proceeds of their powers of magic. Their age, peculiarities, and appearance, coupled, perhaps, with the fulfilment of some vindictive wish which by one of the coincidences of life came to pass, gained for them the reputation of witches. Many came to them to seek their aid, and the business proved a profitable one. Two of a trade seldom agree, and rivalry soon broke out between the two exponents of the black art, and each claimed to be the only genuine agent of the devil, and each tried to outvie the other in their craft, and thereby do a greater business. Every death of which the cause was not perfectly obvious, every accident to man and beast, was attributed to the evil influence of Old Demdike or Old Chattox, who were rather eager to claim than to repudiate such dangerous powers. It must be remembered also that their own credulity and superstition surpassed even that of their neighbours, and each appears to have entirely believed that she had received from the devil a commission of evil. The witches flourished until, in the quaint language of Mr. Thomas Potts,

God who had in his divine providence provided to cut them off, and roote them out of the Commonwealth, so disposed above, that the Justices of those partes, vnderstanding by a generall charme and muttering, the great and vniversall resort to Maulking Tower, the common opinion, with the report of these suspected people, the complaint of the Kinges subiectes for the losse of their Children, Friendes, Goodes, and Cattle (as there could not be so great Fire without some Smoake,) sent for some of the Countrey, and tooke great paynes to enquire after their proceedinges and courses of life. In the end Roger Nowell, Esquire, one of his Maiesties Justices in these partes, a very religious honest gentleman, painefull in the seruice of his Countrey: whose fame for this great seruice to his Countrey, shall live after him, tooke upon him to enter into the particular examination of these suspected persons.

Justice, however, was not content with securing the persons of the two principal offenders, Old Demdike and Old Chattox, but Alison Device, Old Demdike's granddaughter, and Anne Redferne, Old Chattox's daughter, were also committed to Lancaster to take their trial at the next assizes. After the two chief witches had been sent to gaol, on Good Friday, according to the evidence of Jennet and James Device, grandchildren of Old Demdike, a grand council of seventeen witches and three wizards was held at Malkin Tower, Old Demdike's house. James Device's evidence on this point is worth quoting:—

They met there for three causes following (as this Examinates said mother told this Examinate). The first was, for the naming of the spirit which Alizon Device now prisoner at Lancaster, had; But did not name him, because shee was not there. The second was for the deliuerie of his said Grandmother, olde Dembdike; this Examinates said sister Allizon; the said Anne Chattox, and her daughter Redferne; killing the Gaoler at Lancaster; and before the next Assises to blow vp the Castle there: and to that end the aforesaid prisoners might by that time make an escape and get away. . . . And this Examinate further sayth, That all the Witches went out of the said House in their owne shapes and likenesses. And they all, by that they were forth of the dores, gotten on Horsebacke, like vnto Foales, some of one colour, some of another . . . and they all presently vanished out of this Examinates sight.

There was now an opportunity to extend the scope of the witches' trial, and the energetic justices committed to Lancaster for trial Elizabeth Device, Old Demdike's

daughter, and James Device, her son, Alice Nutter, Katherine Hewitt, John Bulcock, Jane Bulcock, and Isabel Robey. These, together with Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, of Salmesbury, who were accused of having bewitched Grace Sowerbutts, of the same place, were tried at the assizes at Lancaster before Sir James Altham and Sir Edward Bromley. Other witches tried at the same time and place were Margaret Pearson, Elizabeth Astley, John Ramsden, Alice Gray, Isabel Sidegraves, and Lawrence Hay. These witches and wizards fall naturally into three classes. The first class consists of the Pendle witches, namely, Old Demdike, Old Chattox, Elizabeth, James, and Alison Device, Anne Redferne, Alice Nutter, Katherine Hewitt, Jane and John Bulcock, and Isabel Robey, all of whom, except Old Demdike, who died before her trial came on, were sentenced to death and executed the day following (August 20th) at the common place of execution at Lancaster.

The second class contains the Salmesbury witches, Jane and Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, who were acquitted. Margaret Pearson, of Padiham, who was sentenced to stand on the pillory in open markets at Clitheroe, Padiham, Whalley, and Lancaster for four market days, to be imprisoned for one year, and to find sureties of good behaviour; and Elizabeth Astley, John Ramsden, Alice Gray, Isabel Sidegraves, and Lawrence Hay, who were acquitted, apparently without trial, and of whom nothing is known, form the third class. The trial of these nineteen witches and wizards caused a great stir throughout Lancashire and the neighbouring counties, and Thomas Potts, clerk of the court, was instructed by the judges to collect and publish the evidence and confessions. It is to this report, Potts' *Discovery of Witches*, which has been reprinted by the Chetham Society, with an introduction by James Crossley, that we owe our very full knowledge of these most important trials. Potts was

verbose and prolix, fond of repetitions, and entirely credulous, and owing to his very faults he has produced a much more valuable work than would a more restrained and enlightened editor. The evidence against the Pendle witches and wizards was given chiefly by Jennet Device, a child of about nine years of age, daughter of Elizabeth Device, who proved a ready tool in the hands of evidence-mongers, but the prisoners also accused each other, and many of them made voluntary confessions. These latter are the most curious of all the documents. Old Demdike, who died before the trial, made a confession while in Lancaster Castle before Roger Nowell, J.P. She acknowledged

That about twentie yeares past, as she was coming homeward from begging, there met her this Examinate neere vnto a stonepit in Gouldshey, in the sayd Forest of Pendle, a Spirit or Deuill in the shape of a Boy, the one halfe of his Coate blacke, and the other browne, who bade this Examinate stay, saying to her, that if she would giue him her Soule, she should haue any thing that she would request. Wherevpon this Examinate demaunded his name? And the spirit answered, his name was Tibb: and so this Examinate in hope of such gaine as was promised by the said Deuill or Tibb was contented to giue her Soule to the said spirit.

She then confessed that the spirit, in the form of a brown dog, one time sucked her blood, and on another occasion urged her to revenge herself on a certain Richard Baldwin. The concluding words of the confession run:—

The speediest way to take a mans life away by Witchcraft, is to make a Picture of Clays like vnto the shape of the person whom they meane to kill and dry it thorowly: and when they would have them to be ill in any one place more than an other; then take a Thorne or Pinne, and pricke it in that part of the Picture you would so haue to be ill; and when you would haue any part of the Body to consume away, then take that part of the Picture and burne it. And when they would haue the whole body to consume away, then take the remnant of the sayd Picture and burne it: and so therevpon by that meanes, the body shall die.

The confession of Old Chattox and the evidence against her are extraordinary. She confessed "that about fourteene or fifteene yeares agoe, a thing like a Christian man for foure yeares togeather did sundry times" come to

her and requested her to give him her soul. After some delay, she said she agreed, and the devil told her to call him by the name of Fancy. On account of an insult offered to her daughter, Anne Redferne, by Robert Nutter, Old Chattox bade her familiar "goe revenge her of the said Robert Nutter. After which time the said Robert Nutter lived about a quarter of a yeare, and then dyed." Elizabeth Device, Old Demdike's daughter, also confessed that her spirit Ball had

> appeared to her in the shape of a browne Dogge, . . . about foure yeares agoe the said spirit had told her to make a picture of Clay after the said John Robinson, yhich she dryed with a fire and crumbled all the same picture away within a weeke or thereabouts, and about a weeke after the Picture was crumbled or mulled away; the said Robinson dyed.

James Device, with a great want of originality, confessed to have killed a certain Mrs. Towneley in the same way by means of a clay picture. "It is difficult," writes Mr. Ewald, in an article on "Lancashire Witches," "to account for the circumstantial character of these confessions, unless they were suggested by the delusions of insanity or by the pains of torture." But, after all, there is nothing very marvellous about these self-accusations. James Crossley, in his introduction to Potts' *Discovery of Witches*, says:—

> Confessions were so common on these occasions, that there is, I believe, not a single instance of any great number of persons being convicted of witchcraft at one time, some of whom did not make a confession of guilt. Nor is there anything extraordinary in this circumstance, when it is remembered that many of them sincerely believed in the existence of the powers attributed to them; and others aged and of weak understanding were in a measure coerced by the strong persuasion of their guilt, which all around them manifested, into an acquiescence in the truth of the accusation. In many cases the confessions were made in the hope, and no doubt with the promise seldom performed, that a respite from punishment would be eventually granted. In other instances, there is as little doubt that they were the final results of irritation, agony, and despair. The confessions are generally composed of "such stuff as dreams are made of," and what they report to have occurred might either proceed, when there was no intention to fabricate, from intertwining the fantastic threads which sometimes stream upon the waking senses from the land of

shadows, or be caused by those ocular hallucinations of which medical science has supplied full and satisfactory solution. There is no argument which so long maintained its ground in support of witchcraft as that which was founded on the confessions referred to. It was the last plank clung to by many a witch-believing lawyer and divine. And yet there is none which will less bear critical scrutiny and examination, or the fallacy of which can more easily be shown, if any particular reported confession is taken as a test and subjected to a searching analysis and inquiry.

Mr. Potts, however, was not of Mr. Crossley's opinion. The universality of the belief in those Pendle witches can be gathered from the credulity of three persons. First, Thomas Potts, the clerk of the court during the trial, a man of education, experience, and legal knowledge. Second, Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of the judges at the trial of the witches, who pronounced the death sentence, who evidently had no doubt whatever of the guilt of the accused, and who in his address to them speaks of "the blood of those innocent children and others his Maiesties subiects whom cruelly and barbarously you have murdered and cut off." Third, John Device, husband of Elizabeth Device, who was herself hanged as a witch, of whom his daughter Alison, in her evidence, says:—

Her father called John Deuice, being afraid that the said Anne Chattox should doe him or his goods any hurt by Witchcraft; did couenant with the said Anne, that if she would hurt neither of them, she should yearely haue one Aghen-dole[1] of meale, which meale was yearely paid, vntill the yeare which her father died in which was about eleuen yeares since: Her father vpon his death-bed, taking it that the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, did bewitch him to death, because the said meale was not paid the last yeare.

This is the most astounding evidence of the general belief in witches, and is hardly, indeed, to be credited. The centre of these witches was Alice Nutter, who, according to Potts, was a rich woman, had a great estate and children of good hope, and had heretofore led a blameless life. The evidence against her was of the flimsiest, the chief witness being Jennet Device, the

[1] Aghen-dole—own's portion, *i.e.*, a portion for herself.

child of nine, who accused her of being present at the Good Friday meeting at Malkin Tower, the famous convention of witches. The judge being, as he well might be, "very suspitious of the accusation of this young wench, Jennet Device," ordered the accused to be placed with other women, and out of them all the child picked out Alice Nutter as one present at the witches' meeting. James Device, himself on trial for witchcraft, also alleged that he knew Alice Nutter was present at this meeting; and Elizabeth Device, mother of these two witnesses, that she, together with her mother, Old Demdike, and Alice Nutter, had "bewitched Henry Mitton to death." On this evidence Alice Nutter was condemned and executed. Potts appears fully satisfied as to her guilt, but this assumption will not be shared by the modern reader, who will rather see here a terrible tragedy. Local tradition has it that that little imp of wickedness, Jennet Device, was set on against Alice Nutter by the lady's own relatives, who wished to be rid of her, and that Roger Nowell, the over-zealous justice of the peace, entered into the conspiracy on account of a grudge which he entertained against her owing to a dispute about some boundary of their land. However it may be, the ill-fated Alice Nutter was the only one of the band of witches in any way distinguished by her position and rank.

The trial of the three Salmesbury witches, Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, forms a curious episode, and is told at length by Mr. Potts. They were charged with having bewitched Grace Sowerbutts, a girl of fourteen, so that "her bodie wasted and consumed Contra forman Statuti, etc., Et Contra Pacem dicti Domini Regis Coronam and dignitatem," etc. Grace Sowerbutts alleged that these women, of whom Jennet Bierley was her own grandmother, "did violently draw her by the haire of the head and layd her on the toppe of a Haymowe." She also accused them of having induced her

to join their sisterhood, of meeting and dancing with "foure black things going vpright, and yet not like men in the face," of bewitching and killing a child of Thomas Walshman, and of afterwards taking up its body and feeding on its flesh. When the judge asked them to plead they went down upon their knees, and with tears entreated him to examine Grace Sowerbutts, who, they said, had been the cause of their accusation. When she was called to give evidence she could not make any direct answer, but told him she was put to a master to learn, but he had told her nothing of this. It subsequently appeared that the girl Sowerbutts had been tutored by one Thompson, a seminary priest or Jesuit, who had chosen her as his tool in his plot against these three women. Thompson is generally stated to be in reality Christopher Southworth, fourth son of Sir John Southworth, of Salmesbury, a Catholic ecclesiastic. Jane Southworth was the widow of John Southworth, grandson of Sir John, and was herself the daughter of Sir Richard Sherbourne, of Stonyhurst, a gentleman of great possessions and wide influence. Like Alice Nutter, then, Jane Southworth was a lady of rank and position, but more fortunate than the elder lady, Mrs. Southworth was able to prove her innocence. The judge, Sir Edward Bromley, seems to have had even his hatred of witches suspended by his greater hatred of Papists; he openly stated on the bench, in the hearing of this great audience, that "if a Priest or Jesuit had a hand in one end of it, there would appeare to bee knauerie and practise in the other end of it." The whole trial is somewhat incomprehensible, however, and probably there is a good deal of Southworth family history at the back of it. Grace Sowerbutts played the same part in this accusation as Jennet Device in the trial of the Pendle witches, but was not as clever or so endowed with natural capacity for deception. It is satisfactory to know that in this case the prisoners were acquitted.

At the assizes held at York July 27th of the same

year, 1612, Jennet Preston, of Gisburne-in-Craven, was accused of having murdered by witchcraft Thomas Lister, Esq., of Westby-in-Craven, and of having been present at the great witch convention held at Malkin Tower on the previous Good Friday. Anne Robinson, a member perhaps of the families of witch-finders of that name living in Pendle Forest, deposed that when Thomas Lister lay upon his death-bed he cried out, "Jennet Preston lyes heauie upon me, Prestons wife lies heauie upon me; helpe me, helpe me: and so departed, crying out against her." This same Anne, Thomas Lister, a son of the deceased, and others also appeared as witnesses at the trial and testified that when Preston was

> layd out to be wound vp in his winding-sheet, the said Jennet Preston comming to touch the dead corpes, they bled fresh bloud presently, in the presence of all that were there present: which hath euer beene held a great argument to induce a Iurie to hold him guiltie that shall be accused of Murther, and hath seldome, or neuer, fayled in the Tryall.

James Device also witnessed against her that she was present at the famous witch convention at Malkin Tower; in fact, he gave as one of the causes of holding it that there was a woman dwelling in Gisburne parish who came to his grandmother's house asking for "assistance of the rest of them that were then there, for the killing of Master Lister, of Westby, because, as she then said, he had borne malice unto her, and had thought to have put her away at the last Assizes at Yorke: but could not. . . . . " And he also said that Preston's wife had "a spirit with her like unto a white Foale, with a blacke-spot in the forehead." It was alleged that she was at a meeting on the preceding Good Friday, and had then with her a spirit "the shape of a white Foale." Before the meeting broke up "they all appointed to meete at the said Prestons wifes house that day twelve-month." On this evidence Sir James Altham, the presiding judge, ordered the jury to consider their evidence, summing up very strongly against the prisoner; for, he asserted, it was "proved"

that she was present in the great assembly at Malkin Tower with other witches. The jury spent the greater part of the day in considering their verdict, but returned the accused as guilty, and she was sentenced to be hanged. It was hardly necessary for the recorder of the trial to exhort those who "hereafter shall passe vpon any Iurie of Life and Death, let not your connivence or rather foolish pittie, spare such as these, to exequute farther mischiefe." Jennet Preston was not strictly, of course, a Lancashire but a Yorkshire witch, but her presence at the witch convention at Malkin Tower, and the inclusion by Master Potts of her trial in his *Discovery of Witches*, warrant a mention of her in any account of Lancashire witchcraft.

There was no famous case of witchcraft in Lancashire for over twenty years. But in or about 1630 a man of the name of Utley was hanged at Lancaster for bewitching to death Richard Assheton, son of Robert Assheton, Esq., of Downham, lord of Middleton. Unfortunately, however, no report exists of his trial, for the rank of the victim would probably make the case most interesting and suggestive.

In 1633 Pendle Forest once again became the scene of pretended witchcraft, and the trial is perhaps even more famous than that of the witches of 1612, but on this occasion we have no Master Potts to give us a full and quaint report. Sir William Pelham writes to Viscount Conway, May 16th, 1634:—

"The greatest news from the country is of a huge pack of witches which are lately discovered in Lancashire, whereof it is said nineteen are condemned, and that there are at least sixty already discovered, and yet daily there are more revealed: there are divers of them of good ability, and they have done much harm. It is suspected that they had a hand in raising the great storm wherein his Majesty was in so great danger at sea in Scotland."

Sir William was clearly a firm believer in demonology, but his fears made him exaggerate the importance of the discovery. It seems that for some time past rumour

reported that in Pendle Forest, on the very spot where twenty-one years ago Old Demdike and Old Chattox, with their companions, had practised their evil calling, a band of women was engaged in the same service of the powers of evil. Of these women the chief was Margaret Johnson, an old woman of sixty, with whom were associated over twenty other women, of whom the most important were Frances Dicconson, Mary Spencer, a young girl of twenty, Alice Hargrave, and Jenet Davies. The last name is truly remarkable, for Jenet Davies, accused as a witch in 1633, seems to have been the Jennet Device who as a child was the chief witness in 1612 against the Pendle witches—truly a case of retribution. The proceedings of the alleged witches were reported, and two of the neighbouring magistrates, Richard Shuttleworth, of Gawthorp, and John Starkie, issued warrants for their arrest. The chief informer was a lad, Edmund Robinson, usually known as "Ned of Roughs," son of a mason in Pendle Forest. There are many points of contact between this trial and previous trials of witches; for not only was Jennet Device connected with the trials of 1612 and 1633, although in very different capacities, but Edmund Robinson, the father, who himself gave evidence in this trial, had in 1612 witnessed against several of the unfortunate Pendle witches, and John Starkie, one of the justices hearing this case, had in 1595 been one of the seven demoniacs at Cleworth, on whose evidence Hartley had been hanged for witchcraft. Edmund Robinson, the younger, gave his evidence before the two justices; he had his lesson evidently well taught him, and told his story clearly. He declared that on last All Saints' Day he was gathering wild plums, when he saw

two greyhounds viz. a blacke and a browne one—[the account of this in Whittaker's *Whalley* is graphic]—runninge over the next field towards him. . . . And the said greyhounds came to him and fawned on him, they havinge about theire necks either of them a coller, and to either of which collers was tyed a stringe, which collers as this informer

affirmeth did shine like gould. . . . Seeinge noe body to followe them, he tooke the said greyhounds thinkinge to hunt with them, and presently a hare did rise very neare before him, at the sight whereof he cryed, loo, loo, but the dogges would not run. Whereupon beeinge very angry, he tooke them, and with the strengs that were at theire collers tyed either of them to a little bush on the next hedge, and with a rod that hee had in his hand, hee bett them. And in stede of the blacke greyhound, one Dickonson wife stoode up (a neighbr) whom this informer knoweth, and in steade of the browne greyhound a little boy whom this informer knoweth not. At which sight this informer beeinge affraid indevoured to run away: but beinge stayed by the woman, viz. by Dickonson's wife, shee put her hand into her pocket, and pulled out a peace of silver much like to a faire shillinge, and offered to give him to houlde his tongue, and not to tell, whiche hee refused, sayinge, nay thou art a witch; whereupon shee put her hand into her pocket againe, and pulled out a stringe like unto a bridle that gingled, which shee put upon the little boyes heade that stood up in the browne greyhounds steade; whereupon the said boy stood up a white horse. Then immediately the said Dickonson wife tooke this informer before her upon the said horse and carried him to a new house called Hoarestones beinge about a quarter of a mile off. . . And presently after, seeinge diverse of the company goinge to a barn neare adioyneinge, hee followed after, and there he sawe sixe of them kneelinge, and pullinge at sixe severall roapes which were fastened or tyed to ye toppe of the house; at or with which pullinge came then in this informers sight flesh smoakinge, butter in lumps, and milke as it were syleinge from the said roapes, all which fell into basons whiche were placed under the saide roapes. And after that these sixe had done there came other sixe which did likewise, and duringe all the tyme of theire so pullinge, they made such foule faces that feared this informer, soo as hee was glad to steale out and run home, whom when they wanted, some of theire company came runninge after him neare to a place in a high way, called Boggard-hole, where this informer met two horsemen, at the sight whereof the sed persons left followinge him. . . . And further this informer saith, yt after hee was comme from ye company aforesed to his fathers house, beeinge towards eveninge, his father bad him goe fetch home two kyne to seale, and in the way, in a field called the Ollers, hee chanced to hap upon a boy, who began to quarrell with him, and they fought soe together till this informer had his eares made very bloody by fightinge, and lookinge downe, hee sawe the boy had a cloven foote, at which sight hee was affraid, and ran away from him to seeke the kyne.

The boy being asked in court if he knew any of the women who were in the barn, named eighteen, who, he said, were present. The father, Edmund Robinson, also

gave evidence, which merely amounted to this, that on the evening in question he heard his son "cry very pittifully, and found him soe afraid and distracted yt hee neither knew his father, nor did know where he was, and so continued very neare a quarter of an hower before he came to himselfe," when he repeated to his father the tale he had just told the court. Margaret Johnson's name was not mentioned in Robinson's evidence, but a short time after she made a confession before the same two justices of the peace. She declared that seven or eight years before being

> in a greate passion of anger and discontent, and withall pressed by some want, there appeared unto her a spirit or devill in ye proportion or similitude of a man, apparelled in a suite of blacke, tyed about with silke points, who offered yt if shee would give him her soule hee would supply all her wants, and bringe to her whatsoever shee did neede, and at her appointment would in revenge either kill or hurt whom or what shee desyred, weare it man or beast. And saith, yt after a solicitation or two shee contracted and covenanted with ye said devill for her soule. . . . And saith, yt in all her talke or conference shee calleth her said devill, Manil my God.

The old crone also added certain general information about the practices of witches. Good Friday was "one constant day for a yearely generall meetinge of witches"; the marks upon the body showed the number of familiars a witch had. If a witch had only one mark, she had but one spirit; if two, then two spirits. Several of the accused followed Margaret Johnson's example, and confessed their guilt, but two or three loudly asserted their innocence. Frances Dicconson, against whom especially Edmund Robinson's evidence had been directed, stoutly denied the whole story, and said the lad was a young scoundrel, who had been instigated by his father because she had refused to sell the elder Robinson a cow, and also to pay him certain money he had asked from her as the price of his silence—black-mail, in fact. Mary Spencer's case, however, was the most curious. She was in the habit of going down a

steep hill to a well to fetch water, and she let the wooden pail roll after her, and sometimes when it rolled faster than she ran, or rolled in a different direction, she would call to it, as if it were alive and could hear her. "For this childish outburst of animal spirits," as Mr. Ewald says, "Mary Spencer was accused of witchcraft, it being alleged that the pail followed her about where she listed, and, hence, was not of wood, but of the devil." At the trial she utterly denied that she was a witch, but said that she had always gone to church, and was able to repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. The jury, however, condemned seventeen of the accused to death. By good fortune, however, the judge before whom the trial took place was more enlightened than his predecessors Bromley and Altham, and respited the execution. The case was reported to the King in council, and Dr. Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester, was instructed by the two Secretaries of State, Coke and Windebank, to examine some of the accused. Margaret Johnson still held to her confession, but the others denied, and the bishop, writing to the Secretaries of State on June 15th, 1634, says, "conceit and malice are so powerful with many in those parts, that they will easily afford an oath to work revenge upon their neighbour," and, in fact, begged the question of guilt or innocence. It was next ordered that four of the witches—Margaret Johnson, Frances Dicconson, Mary Spencer, and a certain Janet Hargreaves—should be sent to the Ship Tavern, at Greenwich. Alexander Baker and William Clowes, the royal surgeons, were ordered by the Privy Council "to make choice of midwives to inspect and search the bodies of those women lately brought up by the Sheriff of Lancaster, indicted for witchcraft, wherein the midwives are to receive instructions from Dr. Harvey, the King's Physician, and themselves." The object of this investigation was to discover whether there were any peculiar marks on the bodies of the accused, for every

witch, it was universally acknowledged, had certain marks on her body, by which she could be identified as the devil's own. The physicians reported that Frances Dicconson, Mary Spencer, and Janet Hargreaves had no marks, and Margaret Johnson had two marks, the result probably of an application of leeches. Secretary Windebank now decided to examine the boy Edmund Robinson alone, for it must be borne in mind that he was the sole witness against the prisoners. Confronted with the acute man of the world, the boy utterly broke down, and confessed that all the elaborate tale he had told was false, and was only his version of popular tales and reports. With the help of an unscrupulous conscience, a vivid imagination, and a glib tongue, the precious young scoundrel had evolved the fabric of the witches' meeting.

The boy, moreover, confessed that he had invented the whole farrago of lies because he wanted an excuse with which to shield himself when he had been playing instead of spending the time on his proper work of looking after his father's cattle. Probably, however, neither of his last two statements is entirely true. The elder Edmund Robinson was most certainly implicated in the conspiracy. Webster, in his *Displaying of Witchcraft*, says the boy confessed that

> he was taught and suborned to devise and feign those things against them, and had persevered in that wickedness by the counsel of his Father, and some others, whom envy, revenge and hope of gain had prompted on to that devilish design and villany.

And again Webster writes:

> The boy, his Father, and some others did make a practice to go from Church to Church that the boy might reveal and discover Witches, pretending that there was a great number at the pretended meeting whose faces he could know, and by that means they got a good living, that in a short space the Father bought a Cow or two where he had none before,

a remark which throws a stronger light upon Mary Dicconson's charge against the elder Robinson of

attempted blackmail. It is a pleasure to learn that the accused witches were all released, and both Robinsons imprisoned for long periods.

Between 1649 and 1685 there were over three hundred trials of witches in England, but there is no mention of any cases in Lancashire, except that Dr. Webster, writing in 1673, says:

> I myself have known two supposed witches to be put to death at Lancaster within these eighteen years that did utterly deny any league or covenant with the devil or even to have seen any visible devil at all. And may not the confession of those (who both died penitent) be as well credited as the confession of those that were brought to such confessions by force, fraud, or cunning persuasion and allurement?"

No other mention occurs of these executions, which would take place about 1654, and these are, as far as is known, the last executions in the county for witchcraft. But in 1688 and 1689 there was a memorable case of demoniacal possession. A youth of about nineteen, called Richard Dugdale, who lived at Surey, in the parish of Whalley, was seized, early in 1689, with strange fits, which showed him to be possessed of the devil. During his possession, he was attended by nine ministers, who put forth a narrative dealing with his case. From this it appears "that, at Whalley rush-burying [bearing] on the James's tide, in July, 1688, there was a great dancing and drinking, when Richard offered himself to the devil on condition that he would make him the best dancer in Lancashire." His attacks or spasms became frequent and violent; sometimes he would talk Latin and Greek, though untaught; at times he was as light as a bag of feathers, at times as heavy as lead; sometimes he would vomit stones an inch and a half square. In some of his fits he declared he must either be cured or die by March 25th, 1689. And according to the deposition of his family, this prophecy proved true, for he had his last fit on March 24th. This whole case was a mass of fraud and superstition, but it

differs from the Starkie case in that in the latter at least one of the divines engaged—Darrell—was a charlatan, while in this present affair some of the dissenting divines attending the possessed were of high character, who must have been themselves the dupes of a designing family.

This was the last definite case of witchcraft, or of demoniacal possession, known in Lancashire, but within the memory of even the living, the wise women of the village was a regular institution, and apparitions were firmly believed in by all. Of all the relics of paganism with which civilisation and Christianity have had to contend, few have died a slower death than that special form of superstition which found one phase of its development in belief in witchcraft.

A ROCHDALE VICAR IN TROUBLE

By William E. A. Axon, LL.D.

ANTIQUARIES come across the record of some curious incidents in the course of their dry-as-dust researches. Such an incident is that in which the Vicar of Rochdale figured in the year 1307. The records do not agree as to his name, but whoever he may have been, he was certainly in an uncomfortable corner for a dignified ecclesiastic. In the episcopal registers at Lichfield it is stated that Richard de Perebald was instituted to the vicarage of Rochdale in 1302, and held the benefice until his death in 1317. But Watson, in his *History of Halifax* (p. 74), quoting from an old manuscript, says that Roger, Vicar of Rochdale, was amerced in twenty shillings for hunting and killing the deer in Sowerbyshire, of which fine he paid one-half and laid in sureties for the other. Sir Henry Howorth, in the *Lives of the Vicars of Rochdale*, suggests that Roger is a mistake of the scribe for Richard. This is supported by Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick in his *History of Rochdale*.

It is somewhat difficult now to think of a Cistercian monk (who was also the vicar of an important parish) as a poacher in pursuit of unlicensed game, but the fuller records now available show that at least two vicars of Rochdale were suspiciously fond of venison. At the court of the manor of Wakefield held at Halifax, May 10th, 1297, various charges were brought against Thomas de Coppeley for misdeeds committed whilst he held the office of Master Forester in Sowerbyshire. The jury

before whom the case came declared that he had committed no offence, "nor was in anywise guilty, except that he killed a hart and sent it to the Vicar of Rochdale on behalf of the earl, with a view of his drawing the malefactors of that neighbourhood away from the earl's chase, so that they should not enter to do any wrong there; and he took nothing in return for the hart; and the said Thomas avowed the gift thereof before the earl, who pardoned him. He therefore goes quit." The ecclesiastic to whom this politic gift was sent may perhaps have been John de Blackburne, but if so, he must then have been elderly, as he was living in 1250. His successor's interest in venison was even more pronounced, and brought him into trouble. At the court held at Wakefield, March 12th, 1307, we find it recorded that

> Michael de la Schawe, taken in the Earl's free chase in Sowerbyshyre, for trespass committed there, makes fine of 10 marks to go quit thereof. Pledges: Henry de Buttreworth, Henry de la Schawe, Robert the Grave of Sowerby, John Swift, and John de Miggeley, who constitute themselves severally principal debtors to pay the 10 marks in two instalments.
>
> Dom. Roger [Richard], Vicar of Rochdale, taken for the like offences, makes fine of £20 to go quit, of which he pays £10 down. He finds John de Lascy and 13 others, whose names are written in a bond for the payment of the remainder.

It will be seen from these entries that the Wakefield court punished the Lancashire priest more heavily than they did the Yorkshire layman. In Watson's MS. Dominus Roger's fine was set down at twenty shillings instead of £20, and the date is wrongly given as 1306. The Court Rolls of Wakefield have been carefully edited by Mr. W. P. Baildon, F.S.A., for the Yorkshire Archæological Society. From such an unexpected quarter comes this anecdote of a sporting cleric, who lived and hunted, not wisely, but too well, without leave or licence, six hundred years ago.

HOMES OF THE YEOMEN AND PEASANTRY OF LANCASHIRE IN THE XVIITH AND XVIIITH CENTURIES

By W. F. Price.

WITH DRAWINGS BY THE AUTHOR.

"While takin' a whiff o' my pipe t'other neet,
A thowt trickled into my pate."

Edwin Waugh.

IT was a thought of many happy days, spent years ago, round a certain sunny old Lancashire homestead. Formerly the home of a yeoman, time had dealt lovingly with its characteristic features, an old flagged roof, bright with patches of buff, russet and green, brickwork enriched by the sunlight of two and a half centuries into a kaleidoscope of brilliant hues, mullioned windows with diamond panes, and an old stone porch with inscribed lintel bearing the date of the house and the initials of its original occupant.

Many such examples of the domestic architecture of the seventeenth century still exist in Lancashire, though the enormous industrial development of the county during the last two hundred years has doubtless done much towards sweeping away many old farmhouses and cottages, which were types of the period, preserving the original features and details bestowed upon them by their builders. These special features will generally be found to have been governed to some extent by the geological structure of the particular district. If a good and suitable building stone abounds, there we find stone-built houses; if clay prevails, there brick has been

chiefly used; where timber once grew plentifully, examples of "magpie" architecture occur. The same limitations hold good as regards the materials used for roofing. Local material met the necessities and governed to some extent the methods of the builder, giving likewise local colour to the landscape and character to the building. Undoubtedly the charm and fitness of these homes of the yeomen and peasantry for the requirements of the age came from a long tradition of methods of workmanship handed down from father to son, and the understanding of the best uses to be made of material at hand; that so many remain to the present time in good habitable condition is a proof of the soundness of their construction.

Dealing with this period (1634 to 1734) one of our most eminent architects says:

> We find the tradition of sound and skilful handiwork re-established in England, and country workmen capable of executing woodwork, masonry, and brickwork of delicate refinement and unsurpassable workmanship; we shall find in work of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the independence of thought, the sober taste and kindliness of manner which has throughout stamped our architecture with a character unmistakably English.

The general plan of the yeoman's house of the seventeenth century consisted usually of an outer porch leading into a hall or house-place. Here the staircase formed an important feature, constructed of English oak with low wide risers and massive newel posts. The kitchens and offices were placed at one end of the building, the living room, or "parlour," at the other.

Among some of the causes which may have led to the evolution of the yeoman, possibly the most important was the division of large estates and the custom which arose of the greater landlords granting leases of farms for a period of three lives.

These long leases provided a fixity of tenure which gave encouragement to the lessee to expend money and

Halliwells Farm Dalton.

labour upon his house and land. There was at this period much "waste" land still waiting to be reclaimed, and in some instances there is a clause in the lease regulating the gradual absorption piecemeal of this uncultivated land, the "intakes" being gradually brought by the industry of the tenant into good and fertile condition.

Another advantage of the three-life lease was that, after the death of two of the three lives, the survivor was usually able to obtain an extension of his lease by adding two more new lives, thus enabling the lessee to hand on his farm to his son, or perhaps his grandson.

A lease now before the writer, though of late date, may be taken as a sample; it contains two or three provisions which have a lingering trace of feudalism. Condensed, it is of this purport: In 1732, Richard Leigh, gentleman, of Brindle, had obtained a three-life lease of twenty-five acres of land, in Brindle, from his Grace the Duke of Devonshire. By 1772 two of the lives became extinct, and Richard obtained a renewal of the lease on the lives of himself, aged 63, his son Alexander, yeoman, aged 30, and Robert Cliff, aged 2. The lessees were bound by this lease (if required)

to maintain and keep for the use of the said Duke one Dog or bitch, be the same Hound, Greyhound, Spaniel, or Pointer, and also one game cock, and shall appear and do suit and service at all and every the Courts to be holden in the said manor in which the premises lye, and also shall and will grind, dry and shull all the corn and grain which shall be used in his or their family or families or otherwise upon the said premises at the Water-corn-mill or other mill and kiln of the said Duke, and not elsewhere . . . and pay the due and customary toll thereof or forfeit and pay for every Default therein Five shillings unto the said Duke. . . . Also shall at their own expense yearly during this lease at proper Seasons, set and plant in some proper place or places, six good and thriving trees or Plants of Oak, Ash, Elm, or Poplar, and also in and upon most needful and proper places of all hedgerows and Fences of the said Premises, Six Hundred of good fresh and lively Quicksets.

Some interesting contemporary evidence regarding this subject is from the diary of a Lancashire squire.

27 June, 1663. Thomas Hesketh Esq. did in the year 1631 and 1632 offer to his tenants in Pilling, who had leases in being for twelve years, either to seal them new leases upon surrender of the old ones, for three lives or for thirty-three years. The number of leases in being were about ninety-seven, whereof sixty-four were renewed. Of these Sixty-four, Forty-nine were taken for three lives and fifteen for thirty-three years. We reckoned by the tenants' books that of these forty-nine leases five of them did yet retain three lives in being, twenty-four of them two lives in being, and nineteen one life in being. So that it did appear that only one tenement of the Forty-nine (taken about thirty-two years ago for three lives) had fallen to the lord.

It is quite evident that the "three-life lease" was, in this instance, preferred by the tenant, giving him a continuity of possession.

A permanent record of the yeoman's lease was often made by inscribing the initials of the lessee, or lessees, upon the lintel of the house door, or on a stone inserted over the porch, or in one of the gables, perhaps more frequently the initials of the yeoman and his wife are found. Occasionally two, or even three, inscribed stones may be seen on one house, all of different dates. These are probably records of renewals of the lease. This custom provided a decorative architectural feature to the exterior of the building, for many of these inscribed stones display much merit, not only in the clever spacing and arrangement of the letters and date, but also in workmanship and design. The custom was not confined to Lancashire, but is common to many English counties. There is no plagiarism to be found in the designs, and no repetition. The craftsman took evident pleasure in his work and in the evolution of a fresh design. The earliest inscriptions seem to have been worked on the lintels, often enclosed within some form of shield; then came the separate panel, usually framed in a bold stone moulding. In the making of the design some little symbol was occasionally employed, such as a heart

Gateway. Yeoman's House at Tunley.
Dated 1675.

placed between the initials of man and wife, suggestive of connubial felicity; or a calvary, or cross, indicating the religious tenets of the lessee. Very elaborate borders were used, mostly of the cable or key pattern; the panel was divided up horizontally into two, three, or four parts, suggesting the same decorative motive found in old samplers of the period. Small ornaments were used to fill in blank spaces, such as variations of the fleur-de-lis, four or five pointed stars, pellets, stops, and the conventional Lancaster rose.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the art declined. The initials and date, instead of being cut as formerly in relief, were merely incised; the designs ceased to be framed in a moulding, and deteriorated into the uninteresting and commonplace examples occasionally seen in the present day, only too suggestive of the gravestone mason.

Another exterior feature of the yeoman's house is the decorative use of finials to embellish the gable ends. These were of stone or oak, of varied design, and usually in excellent proportion.

Large ornamental leaden spout heads form an attractive detail much used at this period. They are large and bold in design, often bear initials and date, and display great variety of treatment. Very few of these can be found of earlier date than *circa* 1660, for in the Civil War lead was a valuable commodity, and many of the old spout heads found their way into the melting-pot for the purpose of casting cannon ball. When Lathom House was sacked by the Roundheads, the house, with all the goods within it,

> was to goe amongst the Souldiers, who pulled the lead off all the turrets, with all those leaden troughes, like unto cisterens, which they salted Beeffe in were pulled asunder and sould. And this was remarkable, that Wiggon men, great Caviliers, were most forward to buy the Leades.

Some good ornamental leadwork lies hidden away in the remote homesteads within a radius of twenty miles

around Wigan. Most, if not all of it, was undoubtedly cast in Wigan, that town being an important centre during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the casting of iron, bronze, lead, and pewter, hence the eagerness of Wigan men in obtaining the lead from Lathom House. In the towns of Wigan and Ormskirk, and in the adjacent villages, some excellent examples of old lead spout heads are yet to be seen. These are decorated with heraldic devices, monograms, initials, and dates.

An effective method of breaking up an otherwise bald space on the wall of a brick-built house was the use made of a diamond or chevron pattern of moulded bricks built out to project about an inch from the face of the building. This, in high light, produces a very rich effect. By the same method other designs were also produced, such as a large Latin cross built in the apex of a gable, or the date manipulated in the same manner.

The approach to a house as an outlet for architectural expression was not lost sight of; hence the frequent occurrence of a flight of steps leading up to the porch through a pair of stone gate piers with ball finials. An example of this feature will be found in the illustration of a yeoman's house at Tunley. The lintel of the porch is inscribed R $\overset{H}{O}$ M. 1675. This house is, like many others in the district, roofed with Upholland flags, necessitating the use of strong oak beams to support the great weight; the flags were fastened on with oak or elm pins. The steps, gate piers, and walls of the house are built of gritstone of a mellow ochre tone, the roof aglow with many hues of yellow, russet, and green, a scheme of colour to ravish the eye of an artist, obtained solely by the right use of purely local material.

As the yeoman's welfare depended to a great extent upon the vagaries of the weather, we often find about his premises a weather vane. This was usually placed

NEWGATE FARM, HOLLAND MOOR, DATED 1707.

SCOTT'S FOLD, DALTON, NEAR WIGAN, DATED 1683.

on the barn, and never fails to be an outlet for some quaint idea or ingenious design. The more important examples served a double purpose of belfry and weather vane, and consisted of a lead-covered cupola supported upon wooden pillars and surmounted by a wrought-iron vane. In the lesser vanes the standards frequently display some good, yet simple, design in wrought iron. Some of the barns attached to these old homesteads are interesting in their construction and exceedingly picturesque, both externally and internally, and as we pass by we seem to hear still the rhythmic music of the flail—long since hushed by the busy hum of the modern threshing machine.

Scott's Fold (here illustrated) is a very perfect type of a well-to-do yeoman's house of the period, remaining externally much as the builders left it. The date over the porch is 1683, with initials $\frac{S}{FS}$ M.

Newgate farm, dated 1707, is another good example, excellent in proportion and design, giving a feeling of snugness, homeliness, and comfort.

The artistic conception and reticent beauty of these old homesteads is the more creditable to the craftsmen who built them when we remember that the professional architect, as we know him to-day, had no hand in them. These and many far more important buildings were designed and erected in the seventeenth century by stonemasons, bricklayers, and carpenters with the aid only of the roughest sketch plan.

Turning to the interior of the yeoman's house, the homely and substantial furniture reflects the same feeling of utility, combined with good workmanship, that we see in the exterior of the building. Unfortunately, the bulk of it has long since passed from its original locality into the hands of brokers, and is scattered far and wide, the link of locality being thus lost. Even so late as thirty to forty years ago much of it remained

in the farmhouses and cottages, still in the possession of the descendants of those for whom it was made two and a half centuries or more ago. A sudden appreciation of its artistic and constructional merits arose, its value was quickly enhanced, with the result that spurious imitations were manufactured to meet the demand. Consequently there is now a difficulty in getting a knowledge of the character and style of furniture which was at one time indigenous to a particular district. Occasionally walnut was used, but the bulk of the furniture of the period was constructed of English oak, articles made of pollard oak being now specially valued for the beauty of the "flower." The largest and most important item of furniture was the bread cupboard, which was sometimes built into the wall. It consisted of two tiers of cupboards. The panels of the top cupboards are usually carved, the lower and larger cupboards are plain. The top rail is carved, a space in the centre being reserved for the initials of the owner or the date. At each end of the rail are two large "drops."

The hinges of the cupboards are of wrought iron, fastened on with nails. The key escutcheons are usually of brass. Meals were served on a long, narrow oak table with four or six bulbous legs braced together at the bottom with a footrail; a "garnish" of pewter furnished the table. Sometimes there was a cupboard, or aumbry, built into the wall by the chimney nook. The aumbry doors are frequently carved.

Then there were the "arks," or chests, of various sizes, used for storing malt, meal, flour, etc., the front panels often very elaborately carved, the end panels and top plain. Many of these arks are dated, or bear the initials of the owner for whom they were made.

A typical piece of furniture was a long, high-backed seat with arms at each end, called the "squab," or settle. The backs are panelled, but rarely carved.

Oak "Ark," 17th Century.

17th Century Carved Oak Chest Appleby Bridge.
Carved Oak Chair dated 1685, Brindle.

The arm chairs are massive and heavy, the back panel sometimes plain, very beautifully carved examples being frequently met with. A yeoman's babies were soothed to slumber in a panelled oak "cayther" (cradle) with a canopied head and ponderous oak rockers.

Keep th' rockers gooin' soft an' slow,
An' shade that leet away;
Aw think this litle duck's o' th mend;
Hoo sleeps so weel to-day;
Doze on, my darlin'; keep 'em shut
Those teeny windows blue;
Good Lord! iv aught should happen thee
What could thi mother do!

Edwin Waugh.

Among other minor articles of furniture were the oak writing desks with sloping lids; the front rail is often carved, and bears date and initials in the centre; and "gate" tables of various sizes with turned or twisted legs.

In genuine specimens of oak furniture of the seventeenth century the carving is always in relief and deeply cut. The designs most commonly used are various conventional forms of the vine, fleur-de-lis, artichoke, or pomegranate. Very little is known about the craftsmen who executed all this beautiful work. Like all native and unconscious art, it has a charm and spontaneity which is incomparable.

Under the same category come the quaint samplers wrought by the hands of the school girls of the period. The craft seems to have been handed down from mother to daughter for many generations, and possesses much personal interest, for many of these little relics bear the maiden name of the executant and the date, along with some pious lines or well-worn proverb.

A typical example now before the writer is divided horizontally into eight parts. The top is worked with a diamond pattern in red, the next five spaces being filled

with the letters of the alphabet and the numerals from one to ten. Next comes a broad band of exquisite needlework in chevron pattern, dull red, light green, dark green, and chocolate. Below this, a space filled in with dark green ground and a conventional spray of delicate pink blossoms worked across. In the lowest panel the warm tone of the canvas is left as the groundwork, and worked in black are the pathetic lines:

> When I am dead and in
> my grave my friends this
> piece of work may have
> Mary Clievely.

Around this inscription the space is filled in with hearts, crowns, two trees of the Noah's ark type, a large flower, a bird, a two-masted ship flying a pennant aloft and a flag at the stern, a boat containing three men with two acorns as supporters; altogether a delightfully naïve medley, but withal an excellent piece of decoration.

The social side of country life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is fully elucidated in the various contemporary diaries of Lancashire men. Perhaps the most interesting are *A Cavalier's Note-book*, *Tildesley's Diary*, and the *Diary of Robert Lowe*. From these sources we gather much relating to the manners and customs of the time, the sports and recreations, the literature of the day, the current prices of building materials, the value of cattle, rate of wages paid to servants and labourers, and a general reflection of the conditions under which the squire, the yeoman, and the peasant lived.

As an indication of the prosperity of Lancashire in the seventeenth century, it is related in *A Cavalier's Note-book* that, in 1662, "a man who showed a dromedary in most parts of England, told me that he found more profit thereby in Lancashire than in any other county."

The end of the eighteenth century rounded off the

17TH CENTURY COTTAGE AT FARNWORTH, SHOWING TIMBER FRAMING.
(*Now taken down.*)

golden age of the Lancashire yeoman, and, in spite of all limitations, his healthy outdoor life, free from the rush and anxieties of modern times, was one that many a present-day town-pent man may look back on with envy. The day of the yeoman has passed; but it is well that some of the old homesteads yet remain, and the same tough and hardy race still plough the furrow.

Homes of the Peasantry

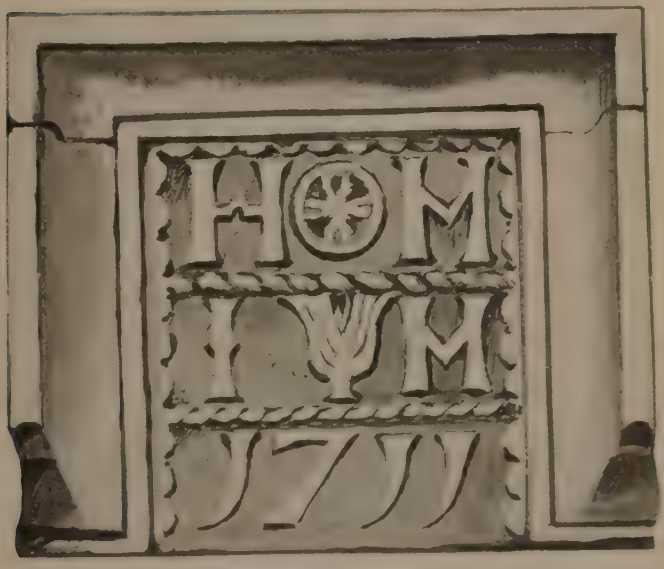
The dwellings of the peasantry of Lancashire in the seventeenth century may broadly be divided into two classes: first, the "clam-stave-and-daub" cottages with thatched roofs, which are the earliest type, and secondly, the cottages built of stone or brick, or a mixture of both materials, with thatched or flagged roof. The clam-stave-and-daub cottage is common to most parts of Lancashire. The stone-built cottage is found chiefly in those parts of the county where good building stone is plentiful; but both types are rapidly disappearing, and being gradually replaced by the uninteresting and featureless dwellings of the present day. From the æsthetic point of view the loss of these quaint old buildings is irreparable, for one can hardly call to mind a typical bit of Lancashire landscape where the elimination of the little thatched and whitewashed cottage would not be distinctly felt. This old cottage architecture is picturesque and homely; there is no effort in construction, no frivolous and unmeaning detail introduced to mar its dignity, and the forms and colours are always pleasing and restful. The clam-stave-and-daub cottages were built with four or six whole trees as their framework; these trees, or "crooks," were set in the ground and inclined towards each other, meeting at the ridge and tied together with cross beams. Upon these the walls and gables were framed and wattled, and then filled in with clay and reeds, and whitewashed. At one end of the cottage there is frequently a division of timber and

wattlework, which divides off a space allotted to the cattle. The illustration of cottage at Farnworth is a good example of the type, showing the framing of timber in the gable end. Dormer windows were sometimes introduced to give light to the rooms in the upper storey, but the ground floor windows were usually very small, ventilation being provided by the ever open door. The pitch of the thatched roof is generally very steep, and gives great charm by the unbroken surface. In some instances the thatch is extended over the gable end, and is always brought well over the eaves to carry the rain clear of the walls.

This type of cottage, usually low, and in many cases without an upper storey, seems especially adapted to stand the fierce north-west gales which sweep the coast of Lancashire, and we find numerous examples at Crosby, Ince, Formby, Altcar, Halsall, Ainsdale, and all along the coast up to the Fylde district. The situation is carefully chosen, and the little homestead often protected by the sand dunes, or a belt of storm-bent willows planted on the weather side. These coast cottages will usually be found placed with their backs to the sea wind, and are almost windowless on that side. Probably this method of gaining protection from the weather has been handed down from prehistoric times. The ancient British hut circles nearly always had their entrances turned away from the prevailing wind. Another important consideration in the choice of a site would be the necessary proximity of a water supply, where a good spring could be found, there in the little garden or orchard are the remains of the old draw-well with its primitive but picturesque headgear, windlass, and bucket. Most of the old wells have been closed by the local or county councils.

In the hamlets and villages where one good spring served the needs of the whole community we usually find it closely associated with the village cross and

Stone Panel on Cottage at Hoghton.



Stone Panel on Barn at Digmoor.

stocks—a convenient centre around which maids and matrons met with their mugs and buckets, and discussed village gossip.

Here and there one may meet with good examples of stone-built cottages with heavy flagged roofs. Many of these are dated, and are mostly of the latter half of the seventeenth century. Dormer windows were made a feature in this type of cottage, being usually much larger than those found in the clam-stave-and-daub cottage. The flags or slates are often carried over the apex of the gable end.

The interior arrangements of seventeenth century Lancashire cottages have, in most cases, been much altered to suit modern requirements. Originally the door opened upon the screen, or "speer," which sheltered the hearth from the view of those entering the cottage. The "speer" often had a small window or opening in it, so that those within the cottage could see all who entered. The hearth-place, usually at the end of the cottage against the gable, was essentially the family shrine. Hearth-worship and the sacred character of the house fire has its origin in the dawn of human history. "Sways," or "crow-swings," cranes on which the cauldrons, pots, and kettles were hung over the large open fire, have now almost disappeared, having been removed to make way for more modern arrangements.

Rush beds, or at best straw pallets, were the common provision for the night's rest.

The simple requirements of the Lancashire peasant may perhaps be well illustrated by the story of the Lancashire rustic who, when asked what his great ambition might be, replied: "To hev clean straw i' my clogs every mornin' and swing on a gate o' day"—an old version of the modern "rest cure."

Burton, writing in 1660, says the common recreations of country folk at that time included bowling, quoits,

pitching of bars, wrestling, running at the quintain, horse racing, and we may add others which were popular in Lancashire—card playing, bear baiting, and cock fighting.

In *A Cavalier's Note-book* we get some idea of the rate of wages paid about the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1666 Mr. Blundell's daughter engaged a maid for fifteen shillings a quarter, and in 1667 Mr. Blundell agreed with John Tildesley "that he shall serve me for one whole year for £4 wages, and that he was not obliged to give him (J.T.) any further reward for his services, either by old clothes or any other way."

Much of the old courtesy still remains among the peasants of Lancashire. More polished folk there may be, but for good, honest, sterling friendship, a Lancashire lad takes a deal of beating.

There's jolly lads among yon hills,
An' in yon country teawn;
They'n far moor sense than preawder folk—
Aw'll peawnd it for a creawn;
They're wick an' warm at wark an' fun,
Wherever they may go,—
The primest breed o' lads i' th world—
Good luck attend 'em o'!

Edwin Waugh.

THE OLD CHURCH OF MANCHESTER

By the Rev. H. A. Hudson, M.A.

FEW of the many thousands who day by day pass to and fro from station and suburb into the city, and fewer still of the strangers who visit Manchester, have any idea of the rich store of memorial which is represented by the ancient yet modern-looking building familiarly known to the inhabitants as "The Old Church." Standing on an eminence, upon an escarpment of red rock, at the foot of which the murky waters of the Irwell flow in narrow winding channel, the striking position of the church has frequently attracted the admiring notice of travellers from the sixteenth century onwards; and although the fabric has suffered more than most from the ravages of time and the destroyer, whilst streets and buildings have encroached upon its precincts, it is still impressive as seen from the north and west, although dwarfed by the colossal modern structures which here, as elsewhere, detract from the scale and effect of earlier buildings (see Frontispiece of this volume). Its memorials carry us back to a remote past long anterior to the date of the present building, and identify its site with the original seed-plot of local history. They also connect the church and the community which it has served for a thousand years with wider spheres of history and association. In sketching the story of the Old Church, therefore, notice should be taken of its waymarks, not only as they point to the town, but also as they serve to connect it with the district and the nation at large, from which it will become

clear that the cosmopolitan community which has grown up around its walls, and which still, notwithstanding many changes, has an affectionate regard for its old-time traditions, is not, as is sometimes supposed, a modern growth of recent date, but the product of forces and influences, both from within and without, which have been operating during many generations, in regard to which the Old Church stands in no slight degree both as a witness and a symbol. In like manner, although to a less extent, those influences have reacted and radiated far and wide, and the church has made its contribution, as the modern city does to-day, to the manifold forces which make for wealth and expansion in the nation.

There can be little doubt that the church stands on the site of the Hill Dun, in which the early settlers of the district entrenched themselves in the days anterior to the Roman occupation. The strategical advantages of such a site are less apparent now than formerly, but in addition to the steep declivity on the west, still comparatively unobscured, a similar bank on the northern side, bounded by the river Irk, and a deep palisaded ditch on the south and east sides, rendered it in those days almost impregnable. The importance of the site now known as Hunt's Bank may have appealed also to the Romans, although the evidences of military occupation are almost entirely in favour of the more commodious eminence situated about a mile to the south at Castlefield, where a similar conjunction of rivers and rock afforded opportunity for the construction of a larger and stronger castrum. Roman remains in the neighbourhood of the cathedral site have been frequently brought forth during the past fifty years, and the rebuilding of the tower in 1863, and other excavations more recently made, which were carefully noted at the time, have demonstrated the existence of ancient substructures beneath the present building which strongly resemble Roman work elsewhere.

The causes which led at a later period to the gradual

desertion of the more important settlement at Castlefield, and the reversion to Hunt's Bank as the natural and ecclesiastical centre of the mediæval town, are not easily discernible. There is a regrettable scarcity of direct evidence. Sufficient data exist, however, to indicate a probability that the process was a gradual one. Traces of early burying grounds and foundations of early masonry have been discovered on two intermediate sites, one near the present St. Ann's Church, which is situated about midway between the two Roman positions, and another nearer Hunt's Bank, close to the street long known as St. Mary's Gate. It is observable, too, that the former of these was situated within the area of the Acresfield, which in the thirteenth century was confirmed to the people as the common fair-ground of the town, from which it may be inferred that the church, if any such formerly existed here, had long since disappeared and given place to another. Adjacent to both these sites, and abutting on the Roman road from Chester to Hunt's Bank and the north, were also situated the mediæval Rectory and the Church Glebe, still recognisable under the names of "Parsonage" and "College" land. But for the ravages of the Danes in the ninth century, it might have been possible to elucidate the obscurity that shrouds this subject; as it is, however, all we can do is to correlate the facts already summarised with the only records bearing upon the pre-Norman church to which reference can be made, and with a solitary but exceedingly important Saxon fragment which is now preserved in the Consistory Court of the cathedral.

It is stated in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the year 923, that King Edward the Elder, in his reconquest of Danish Mercia, sent a detachment of Mercians up the Mersey from Thelwell "to Mameceastre in Northumbria to repair and man it." It was during his time that the much-debated land between the Ribble and the Mersey, the scene of the labours of Paulinus and others, became

detached from the sway of Northumbria and annexed to English Mercia, being incorporated in the diocese of Lichfield. There is also the record in Domesday which states that in the time of King Edward the Confessor "the Church of St. Mary and the Church of St. Michael held in Mameceastre one carucate of land free from all custom save geld."

Into the vexed question as to which was St. Mary's Church and which St. Michael's, here referred to, it is not necessary now to enter. The present church is still, and has always been, dedicated to St. Mary, but whether the original St. Mary's Church was on this site, or on one of the intermediate sites before mentioned, has not so far been demonstrated. If we could say with certainty when the reoccupation of Hunt's Bank took place, whether it was under Saxon or Norman sway, we should have less hesitation, but in the absence of this evidence the balance of probability inclines to one of the sites further south.

A difficulty, however, presents itself in the Saxon stone belonging to the eighth or ninth century, possibly even earlier, which was discovered during a restoration of the present building in 1871. This fragment, which contains an inscription of rare archæological value, has been shown to possess a far greater significance than was supposed, and it may be accepted, without doubt, as the earliest Christian monument in the locality. The fact of its being discovered on the present cathedral site certainly suggests that an early Saxon church once existed on this spot, but, on the other hand, the fragment might have been brought hither from one of the other sites along with other building material. In either case, the absence of other Saxon remains adds to the difficulty of determining the point, and the locality of the first Saxon church of Manchester still remains a matter of speculation.

The settlement of the Normans in Manchester brings us at once to surer ground, and to one of the earlier Barons,

Robert Grelley, is attributed the honour of founding the considerable church which was the precursor of the present building. This Robert, the second of the name, was a man of more than local fame, and we may account his connection with the wider field of history as fortunate both for his country and for the town. Prominent amongst the Northern Barons, who assisted in gaining Magna Carta from King John, warrior, statesman, legislator, "vir nobilis et potens," as he was described by Matthew Paris, his career places him amongst the foremost and most attractive personages in the annals of Manchester. It has been suggested that the building of the thirteenth-century church was an act of expiation on his part, in order to become reconciled from the sentence of excommunication and interdict which he and others of the Barons had incurred through their opposition to King and Pope. Perhaps we may regard it also as an act of local patriotism, which the recovery of his forfeited property, and his wider experience of affairs, enabled him to carry into better effect. Be this as it may, the remains of an early thirteenth-century building which from time to time have been discovered in the material of the walls of the present fabric, indicate a substantial church consisting of nave, with north and south aisles, chancel, west tower and south porch, similar in its main proportions to the present one. To this church additions were made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when its collegiation and the development of the chantry system led to its assumption of its present form.

Before passing to the second stage of its history, dating from 1421, when the parish church became collegiated, mention should be made of at least two names whose association with the church, like that of Robert Grelley, connects it with the larger life of the nation. Both William de Marcia and Walter de Langton were rectors of Manchester in the thirteenth century. The former, who became Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1293, was advanced

to the high office of Treasurer of England under Edward I. He is known as the builder of the Chapter House of Wells, and lies buried in the south transept of his cathedral. Walter de Langton, who succeeded him at Manchester, was an even more strenuous ecclesiastic, filling the same high office of state, and sharing to the full the responsibilities and troubles of his turbulent time. He, too, becoming Bishop of Lichfield, greatly enriched his cathedral, which was the Mother Church of Manchester, having founded the exquisite Lady Chapel where he is interred, and also fortified the cathedral precinct with foss and wall. To these should be added Thomas la Warr, the last of the family which in 1309 had succeeded by marriage to the manor and advowson of Manchester, held by the Grelleys for more than two centuries. As a benefactor to the church here and elsewhere, Thomas la Warr, though less distinguished in public affairs than some of his predecessors, is more worthy of veneration by reason of his liberality to Manchester, and his founding of the college places him on a level more exalted even than that of his illustrious ancestor, whose church he served for the long period of nearly fifty years as the last of its rectors.

In the causes which led to the collegiation of the church may be discerned a more than local significance. It is true that the needs of the parish, both spiritual and temporal, with its great area and large population, had long been insufficiently met, but the spirit of reform, to which the collegiation testifies locally, was abroad in the country at large. The complaints, too, against neglect of worship and the cure of souls, due to frequent non-residence on the part of the rectors and their occupation in secular affairs, were also local symptoms of a widespread abuse. That Thomas la Warr had the wit to see and the will to remedy these things proves him to have been one of the more enlightened men of his time, and the generosity of his plans for reform is only equalled by the wisdom

which conceived them and the methods by which their success was achieved. Having in his latter years inherited the barony from his brother John, who died childless, he devoted his substance to the college for which he had petitioned. His foundation dates from 1421, and consisted of "one Chaplain master or keeper, eight fellow chaplains and other ministers" (viz., four clerks and six choristers), whose business it should be to serve God in Divine worship and minister the cure of souls and general advantage of the parishioners of the church. The series of documents bearing upon this important event, including the Papal confirmation lately discovered in the Vatican archives, is of the highest interest, and remarkably complete if we except the statutes which have perished. The account also of the vestry meeting summoned by bell to assent to the scheme, and attended by the church-wardens, knights, esquires, gentry, and all the "community and university of the parish," may be regarded as historic. La Warr's charter has formed the basis of three succeeding charters belonging to the reigns of Elizabeth, Mary, and Charles I., the last of which is the rule under which the present members of the college, now the cathedral body, are governed. The old rector happily lived long enough to see the success of his plans assured, and dying in or about 1426, was buried in the Abbey of Swineshead, Lincolnshire, which had also received benefactions at his hands. It is to be regretted that no memorial of this great and good man, save the memorial of his works, exists now in the church or town of Manchester.

Amongst the earliest results of the collegiation were the enlargement of the baronial mansion still known as "the college," situated immediately to the north of the church, which the founder had transferred along with other endowments for the use of the clergy. The enlargement of the church, too, proceeded simultaneously, so as to render it more worthy of its new status and requirements. John Huntingdon (1422-1458), who was

chosen to be the first warden, "a man learned in the learning of the times, very devout and magnificent," directed the work and lived to see the choir entirely rebuilt, contributing of his own income to the cost. He was buried, in accordance with the directions of his will, before the high altar, and his fine memorial brass, long neglected and much injured, has recently been restored with commendable care and judgment and replaced in its rightful position in the choir.

All visitors to the church are struck by the beauty of this choir, which is the only part of the church that retains its pristine character modified by some alterations made about the end of the fifteenth century, when the arcade was widened westwards, so as to accord with the scale of the new nave. These alterations, with others which will be described presently, included the insertion of larger clerestory windows, with a consequent adaptation of Huntingdon's roof, and the furnishing of the choir with stalls and screens. They are all works of genius which will well repay examination. Notice, too, will be taken of the original rebus of the first warden, to be seen in the spandrels of the westernmost beam, viz.:—(1) a man with a dog hunting; (2) the hunter refreshing himself at the wine tuns, the hunting being done; also of the eagles, a Stanley emblem, bearing shields and supporting the curved and cusped struts that spring from the capitals.

The nave roof, also original in its main timbers, of heavier design than that of the choir though similar in construction, is equally admirable. An exceedingly fine series of musical angels support the principals of this roof, now seven in number, but originally thirteen. These figures are specially valuable as illustrating contemporary varieties of wind, string, and percussion instruments. They are arrayed in albs, girdled in some cases, and amices, and wear for headgear a curious zuchetto with side flaps. Those on the north side, which are more

Interior Manchester Cathedral.

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easily seen than the rest, comprise for the most part players on wind instruments. The bosses, carved out of the solid throughout, are exceptionally rich and varied. The design of the nave, one of the most beautiful of its period in the country, is attributed to Warden Langley (1465-1481), a member of an opulent local family, a man of remarkable zeal and versatility, and a great and munificent church-builder. It is recorded of him that he gave the churches of Manchester and Oldham their first peal of bells, and he is also credited with the remarkable feat of "making the clocke and chime in Manchester Church with his owne hands." In the work of rebuilding the Early English nave it is inferred from the old glass that several families of repute assisted.

Another, and perhaps the most enterprising of all the builders connected with the church, succeeded Langley in the wardenship after a brief interval, during whose tenure of office improvements of a far-reaching character were effected. To Warden Stanley's influence (1485-1509) is undoubtedly due what we may call the revised plan of the church which continues substantially to this day. Considering the extent of the changes made and the enormous cost which they must have involved, it is almost as surprising that such changes in a building so recently reconstructed should have been enterprised at all as that, being once resolved upon, their expression should not have been sought in an entirely new building. Possibly the beauty of his predecessors' work and respect for their memory held him back. Possibly in the earlier years of his wardenship he lacked the means to carry out the more ambitious alternative. But the marks he has left upon the church stamp him as a princely benefactor, worthy, at any rate as a builder, of his connection with the distinguished family whose name he bore, then at the zenith of its power; worthy also of the example and training which he received from his step-mother, the pious and famous Lady Margaret, whose third husband, the

warden's father, became the first Earl of Derby. It would be extremely interesting to know who the master-builder was whom Stanley engaged to carry out his plans. There are points of resemblance, especially in the later work, which suggest comparison with contemporary work at Westminster. Family connections, too, Stanley being now step-brother of the reigning monarch, may have had a bearing upon the selection, but whoever he was, the architect must have been a man of consummate resource and skill, the alterations requiring delicacies of adjustment both in design and construction which only a great master could successfully essay. The widening of the church, involving the re-erection of arcades and adaptation of the old roofs; the substitution of large single windows of five lights throughout the clerestory in lieu of former couplets, rendered necessary partly for purposes of light, on account of the erection of lateral chantries, which was then proceeding apace, and partly in order to enrich the church with stained glass; the new Chapter House; and probably the upper stages of the tower—all these things were Stanley's work; and, in addition, the large Chapel of St. John, as well as the magnificent rood-screen (see Article on "Rood Screens," etc., in Vol. II.) and southern choir-stalls, were provided by his munificence. His last thoughts, as evidenced in his will, turned to the church he loved so well, and which he preferred to his minster at Ely as his last resting-place; and whatever may have been his limitations as a prelate or man of learning, by these works he proved himself great in energy and generous in action, and by these he deserves to be gratefully remembered. It is noteworthy that Stanley, together with the companions of his youth, Hugh Oldham and William Smith, all of them Lancastrians, received their early training at Knowsley under the vigilant care of the Lady Margaret. Each in later life was advanced to high office in the Church, and all became great as builders or benefactors. More significant still is

the regard that they had for the county of their birth, and to their larger experience of life, as well as to their good affection for Lancashire, may be attributed the sagacity which prompted and the benefits which have accrued from their manifold undertakings for religion and sound learning, amongst which the extension and enrichment of the old church and college at Manchester, so splendidly executed by Stanley, must be accorded a high place.

It would be fascinating to dwell upon the details of these additions made by Warden Stanley to his church, and specially to dilate upon the woodwork, which is of high character throughout, though not perhaps of such supereminent excellence as some have averred. The stalls, with their unique cornice, which crowns the canopies on all three sides and is continued in a lofty range of parclose screens of great rarity and much impressiveness right up to the retro-choir, are characterised by many hidden as well as revealed beauties and much subtlety of design. The Lathom legend of the Eagle and Child is portrayed more than once, and a similarly repeated allusion is made to another favourite tale of the House of Stanley, in which the family jester plays an important part. Many scenes of common life and fabled story are carved with varying skill on the subsellia, and symbolical zoology is freely represented upon the bench ends and elsewhere. Both the workmanship of the stalls and their design suggest a connection with a similar series at Beverley Minster. There are sufficient reasons for supposing that in this particular conjunction of the "Rival Roses" Lancashire led the way. Undoubtedly the Manchester work is earlier, whilst amongst the badges, shields, and other reminders of his family story, no ornament is more profusely employed on Stanley's stalls and screen than the double or Tudor rose, fit emblem of the harmony that ended strife through the union of the houses of Lancaster and York in the persons

of Henry VII. and his Queen. Evidently proud of his family's achievements, we may see in these adornments of his church something more than Stanley's pride of place and power. They evince the spirit of a man who, amidst stirring and difficult times, in which he himself played no mean part, kept close touch with Manchester and showed a lively regard for its interests. And whilst they afford another link in the lengthening chain which connects the church with national affairs, at the same time they are the best monument of a great-hearted man and a generous benefactor, better by far than his own tomb in St. John's Chapel, where for nigh three hundred years his bones lay undisturbed, until the present meagre erection, which retains a portion of the original effigy in brass, was substituted.

Bishop Stanley, who relinquished the wardenship in 1509, three years after his appointment to Ely, died in 1513, and it may be inferred that during the next few years the church attained its highest perfection of beauty and completeness. The warden's example seems to have provoked others to emulation. Knights and ladies, merchants and trade gilds, now vied with one another to make the church all glorious within. Chantry chapels were added throughout its length on the north, whilst four on the south side stretched from the entrance porch up to the Chapter House. Screens of stone or wood, in some instances richly painted and gilded, separated these from one another, or from the main body of the church. The great rood, the socket of which still remains, was reared aloft beneath the choir arch. The windows throughout were illumined with painted legend and story; objects of special devotion adorned pillar and wall; slabs of stone and Purbeck, several of them inlaid with brasses of greater merit than the county usually affords, enriched the floor. Tapestries and other furniture, pictures and plate, were also provided worthy of a building so beauteous and beloved.

Too soon was the heavy hand of change to be laid upon all this dedicated store; clouds were already gathering for the coming storm, which, when it burst, left marks in its track so damaging and so far-reaching that it has remained for the present generation to recover and restore from the common wreck some idea, at any rate, of the former aspect of the building. In the eventful hundred years or so that succeeded the introduction of the reformed rite, change followed upon change so rapidly that only a brief allusion can be made to them here.

When the Act of 32 Henry VIII. restricted the ancient privileges of sanctuary, Manchester became for the short period of one year one of the eight chosen places in the kingdom where "privilege and tuition for life" might be found. The general unsettlement, political and social, which led to this enactment, and later transferred the Manchester sanctuary first to Chester, then to Stafford, and lastly, in the reign of James I., caused it to be abolished altogether, is typical of other changes, religious and social, in the course of the church's history, which must now be considered.

The effect of these changes soon became evident both in the circumstances of the College and the condition of the fabric. It has been already indicated that the charter of Henry V. thrice underwent revision. The chantries and the college house were now alienated, the latter being temporarily restored in the time of Queen Elizabeth for the collegiate residence by arrangement with the Earl of Derby, the grantee under Edward VI. The plate and windows began to be dispersed; screens and monuments were defaced; walls and roofs fell into disrepair, and, the muniment room having been broken into, many valuable documents, including apparently the statutes of the college, perished. How deplorable the condition of the church had become when Charles I. was petitioned to intervene is evident from the preamble of his charter of 1635. The story of the previous ninety years is full of scandal,

revealing not only grievous neglect of religion, but culpable maladministration of church property on the part of certain of the wardens and others. That the fabric itself also was rapidly sinking into dangerous insecurity is clear from the same document, which, in a saddening recital of many and grave complaints of negligence, alleges that

> the greatest part of the revenues of the said college has been kept back and unjustly appropriated by certain private individuals, so that there was not enough to pay the proper stipends to the fellow-chaplains and others who minister in the same Church.

And in addition there was such imminent peril from the edifice of the church itself to those who entered it, that "most of the parishioners scarcely dared to seek thence the spiritual food of their souls by reason of the peril of their bodies." During the long period that has elapsed since this charter was granted there have been many wardens of Manchester, but there have been no cases of such gross neglect of the fabric, nor repetition of the scandalous corruption in high office, which brought so much discredit upon the church during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I. It will not be supposed that the church was bereft of scholars and divines during these disturbed times. Names occur amongst its clergy, then and afterwards, which would shed lustre on any church or community. Two of the wardens of this period, Wolton and Chadderton, were advanced to bishoprics, whilst Bradford "the Martyr," and Nowell, author of the "Catechism," both Lancashire men, and later Bourne, Hollingworth, and Newcome, were amongst the preachers or fellows whose lives and teachings gained a deservedly high renown.

Upon Richard Heyricke, son of a wealthy alderman of London, and kinsman of the poet, who was the only warden during the critical and eventful period from 1636 to 1667, devolved the task of repairing the fabric and inaugurating the discipline of the new régime. A man

of dauntless courage and unyielding resolution, and possessing many estimable qualities, his character reveals an impetuosity and waywardness which did little to assuage the difficulties of his time. Throwing himself heartily into the cause of the growing Puritan party which he found on arriving in Manchester, he soon gained notoriety by his fiery homilies against Popery. A characteristic action on the eve of the Civil War reveals the mettle of the warden, and illustrates not only his personal influence, but also the kind of part he was ready to play in the political arena. He drew up the famous Lancashire petition to King Charles in favour of a better understanding between King and Parliament, which he got signed by 64 knights and squires, 55 divines, 740 gentlemen, and about 7,000 freeholders and others in Lancashire, and which he actually took and presented to the King at York. The address, amongst other things, complimented the King upon his zeal for the advancement of true religion, in which it said he resembled Queen Elizabeth by "weakening the hopes of sacrilegious devourers of the church's patrimony," and by "providing against Popish impieties and idolatries, and also against the growing dangers of Anabaptists, Brownists, and other novelists." "But yet," it proceeded, after further preamble, "whatsoever your Parliament shall offer to your Royal view conducing to a continuance of that blessed end . . . be pleased to condescend unto and graciously to confirm"; and it invited suggestions from the King as to a suitable way of making a dutiful address to Parliament "so that there may be a blessed harmony between your highness and that great council." The King's adroit and dignified reply appears to have somewhat chilled the warden's ill-calculated ardour. To Heyricke's exertions and persuasive eloquence may be attributed much of the strength of the local Parliamentary party. In 1646 he became moderator of the Presbyterian Classis. But time has its revenges, and the sequestrators

appointed by the Parliament of 1649 having succeeded by his help in abolishing episcopacy, turned round upon him and broke into the college chest, laying hands upon the deeds and revenues of the church, to the great indignation of its ministers. The warden was now left alone at his post. Later on, on account of these and other outrages, Heyricke became disaffected towards Parliament, and being suspected of Royalist sympathies and of complicity in plots against the Government, he was taken to London and cast into prison, narrowly escaping the capital penalty that some of his companions paid. Eventually, when episcopacy was revived at the Restoration, he appears once more as a "Church and State" man, and although he characteristically declined to accept the Act of Uniformity, he managed to regain his wardenship, the honours and emoluments of which he henceforward enjoyed until his death in 1667. He was buried near his predecessor, Warden Huntingdon, in the choir. His virtues are set forth in an ample and not too modest Latin inscription, written by a friend, upon a brass set in a quaint black oak monument in the south choir aisle; whilst the date 1638, which appears on a beam at the east end of the choir roof, testifies to at least one of the important works of restoration which the fabric owes to the administration, and in part to the liberality, of this remarkable man.

The succeeding history of the church, though not unaffected by political complications, discloses a less disturbed religious progress. The silvery eloquence of Warden Wroe, who followed Nicholas Stratford, Heyricke's successor in office, appears to have disposed the citizens to acts of charity and beneficence. Of this we are reminded by interesting survivals of the period which still belong to the church, and which may be conveniently noticed here. It was in the year 1679 that a new peal of six bells was added at the charge of the parish. Three years later the Chapter made a contract

for a new choir organ, now in the north aisle, with "Father" Smith for the sum of "£200 to be paid on account, the rest when finished." A new south porch, which survived until 1872, was added a few years later. The Communion plate was also greatly enriched at this time. One of the two handsome brass candelabra in the retro-choir was presented in 1690. The tapestry now in the Consistory Court, which bears the date 1661, was given to provide a dossal for the altar in 1700, and to the same year belongs the marble floor of the sanctuary. Both these gifts were formerly commemorated by dedicatory tablets, inscribed:

"DEO DANTE
dedit
DEO & ECCLESIÆ
SAM[l] BROOKE
Vice[mo] qu[to] die Feb[y].
An[o] D[mi] 1700."

"Ne Altari novis sumptibus exstructo, et modeste ornato Dispar foret pavimentum marmoreum fieri curavit, Nathaniel Edmundson, lanarius mancuniensis, Anno Domini 1700."

In 1691 was buried in the little chantry formerly adjoining the Jesus Chapel, William Hulme, of Kersley, the founder of the Hulme Exhibitions to Brasenose College, Oxford, whose benefactions to learning, like those of Bishop Oldham and Humphrey Chetham, have exercised an imperishable influence far beyond the confines of the town and district.

Many of these gifts and monuments possess a value independently of their intrinsic merit, as recalling in several cases associations with the church which are worthy of notice. The bells, for example, which were recast in 1706 by Rudhall, of Gloucester, into a peal of eight, and later received an addition of two treble bells, making the present ring of ten, introduce us to a variety

of local ringing customs which throw light upon the social habits of the community. Even so recently as the beginning of the nineteenth century, in addition to the forenoon and afternoon daily prayer bells, a bell sounded daily at six, and at eight o'clock in the morning, at one o'clock, and at eight o'clock in the evening, calling to work as well as to prayer, and proclaiming dinner-time as well as the time to rise from sleep. The organ suggests musical reminiscences, not the least being the composition of the world-famed "Christians, awake," by John Byrom, a worshipper at the church, and the admirable tune by John Wainwright, of Stockport, who became organist of the church. This organ was the precursor of several larger instruments, one of which, formerly in a west gallery, connects the church with some notable musical festivals early in the nineteenth century, at one of which the famous Malibran sang. The candelabra, which formerly hung from the choir roof, still preserve a beautiful old-time custom associated with the Christmas festival, when each day from the Eve of the Nativity until Epiphany all the candles are lighted during Evensong. The plate, too, is of extraordinary interest as a collection of post-Reformation date, including twenty-four pieces in all. Besides two Elizabethan Communion cups of 1584, and two cups with patens dated 1626, fourteen pieces, mostly private gifts, were added between the years 1676 and 1707, amongst them being a valuable pitcher flagon, elaborately ornamented, and a magnificent set of four flagons, 17 inches high and 8½ inches in diameter at the base. Four beaker-shaped cups, dated 1620, formerly belonged, according to their inscriptions, to the church of the Scots Factors at Campvere in the Netherlands, which is said to have been the first church outside Scotland which had direct connection with the Mother Church at home. They were given to the cathedral by Earl Egerton of Tatton in 1893. In the Inventory taken by the Commissioners of Edward VI.

in the year 1550 it is stated that the Collegiate Church goods then included no less than 303½ ounces of silver, which gives some idea of the importance and opulence of the church in the middle of the sixteenth century. Warden Vaux is said to have conveyed away some of this plate when he relinquished his office on the accession of Queen Elizabeth. Frequent reference is made in local annals to the large number of "houselling people" in the parish, and in the provision thus made at various periods for their communion we may see confirmation of these statements.

No memorials of the Old Church would be complete which failed to take account of the registers, dating from 1573, which probably form the most extensive series of any parish in the land, including more than 360 volumes, many of them being of great bulk. Up to 1842 it was calculated that 554,017 entries had been recorded. In one year—1838—there were 5,163 baptisms, 2,615 marriages, 1,457 burials. On one day, just before the new Registration Act came into operation, there was the extraordinary number of 369 baptisms. At the same time the average banns every Sunday morning numbered 150 couples. Nor was this exceptional. On one occasion a visitor to the church in 1835 records his astonishment when the clergyman concluded the publication of banns with the following summary: "For the first time of asking 65; for the second time 72; for the third time 60—total 197." Perhaps more remarkable than all is the fact that one of the clergy in the early part of the nineteenth century notes in his diary that during a period of twenty-one years he personally officiated at 33,211 christenings, 13,196 weddings, and 9,996 funerals. Surely a clerical record!

Little space remains to recount the attractive episodes in which the church took no small part in the eighteenth century, when feeling ran high and scenes that have become locally historic were enacted. A new meaning

and character now attached to the title "Old Church" by reason of the founding in 1709 of St. Ann's, frequently styled in contradistinction the "New Church," which now became the rallying-ground of the Low Church Whig Party, to whom the High Church Jacobite tendencies which prevailed at the Old Church were distasteful. The situation was rendered more piquant by the appointment in 1718 of Samuel Peploe, a pronounced Whig, as successor of Dr. Wroe in the wardenship. It is stated that he owed his preferment to his boldness in venturing, when Vicar of Preston, to read the prayers for the Royal House of Hanover in the presence of a Jacobite force. The King, it is said, hearing of the incident, enquired the name of the clergyman, and, on being told that it was Dr. Peploe, replied that he should "peep high" for his loyalty. This intrepid action and the reward that followed it recalls the story of John Hacket, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, who at the time of the great rebellion was Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and continued to use the proscribed Prayer Book in spite of severe penalties which threatened. A sergeant and an armed trooper being sent to the church to compel his obedience, he continued with firm voice and fearless manner to read the service as he was wont to do, whereupon the soldiers placed a pistol at his head, and threatened him with instant death unless he desisted. With the calm reply, "Soldiers, I am doing my duty, do you do yours," he went on with the service, and the military, awestruck by his piety and courage, left the church in astonishment. Dr. Peploe's position was not an enviable one. The Tory Bishop of Chester on the one hand, and a united body of High Church colleagues amongst the Fellows and Chaplains of the college with a strong lay following on the other, formed a veritable Scylla and Charybdis, and it was not until the death of Bishop Gastrell in 1725 that respite came. Dr. Peploe succeeded his former opponent in the Bishopric of Chester, retaining for a

time his wardenship *in commendam*, but failing to commend his visitation measures as regarded the college, he eventually resigned the wardenship in 1738 in favour of his son, Samuel Peploe the younger, who held the office for forty-three years.

In the events of 1745 the Fellows, Chaplains, and others connected with the church were in close sympathy with the teachings and political leanings of Dr. Deacon, an influential and learned member of the Non-juring party and an ardent supporter of the Stuart cause. One of the chaplains it is related met Prince Charles as he entered the town, and, falling on his knees in the street, implored the Divine blessing on his enterprise. Another "performed with much zeal" the special devotions in the Collegiate Church which the Scotsmen ordered on the morrow of the Prince's entry, being St. Andrew's Day. For some time after the failure of the expedition the pulpit of the Collegiate Church continued to reflect the partisan feeling both of the clergy and people who worshipped there, but eventually it would seem the growing influence of the warden and the healing hand of time softened the asperities, and the ferment gradually abated. Henceforward the clergy abstained in great measure from prominent connection with political contentions, and a new era of toleration, marked by church extension and the establishment of many charitable and philanthropic institutions, including the Infirmary, set in. In these more peaceful paths, by which the lot of the sick and poor, the ignorant, the afflicted, and the prisoner have been ameliorated, the Old Church has ever since borne an honourable part, and for these works of mercy and ministry, rather than for her more aspiring connection with affairs which we have traced in this article, is she best remembered in the hearts of the people.

It has often been remarked, not without justice, that the Old Church, beautiful as it is, forms a scarcely worthy

embodiment of the cathedral dignity to which it attained when the See of Manchester was formed in 1847. More than once serious proposals have been made to provide this great diocese with a cathedral which would be more in accordance with the importance of the See and more fitted for diocesan and civic gatherings, and for memorials of the great and good, which can only be properly received in a church that is ample in size and magnifical in adornment. That these efforts have hitherto been abortive, though prompted by weighty influence and authority, is due in no little measure to the peculiar *genius loci* and the traditional regard for the Old Church, which is still strong amongst Manchester folk. Possibly the needs of the future, or the greater development of high corporate religious instincts, or even a spirit of emulation which enterprise is evoking in great cities on both sides of the Atlantic and in our Colonies, may lead the Churchmen of Manchester and of the diocese to proceed in a manner more commensurate with the general fitness of things, and more worthy of the successors of Grelley, la Warr, and Stanley. Nor need it be feared, if that time should come and a new cathedral on a new site should arise, that either the prestige of the Old Church will fade or its memorials perish, or the influence or usefulness of "Christ's College in Manchester" be diminished.

END OF VOLUME I.

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